MAY 22 / MAY 29, 2023

THE CORONATION *of* CHARLES III

TIME



FINALLY, KING

by
TINA BROWN

VISIT…

LANZAROTE Caliente.com



King Charles III arriving at Westminster Abbey on May 6

Photograph by Garth Cattermole—AP

TIME

VOL. 201, NOS. 19–20 | 2023



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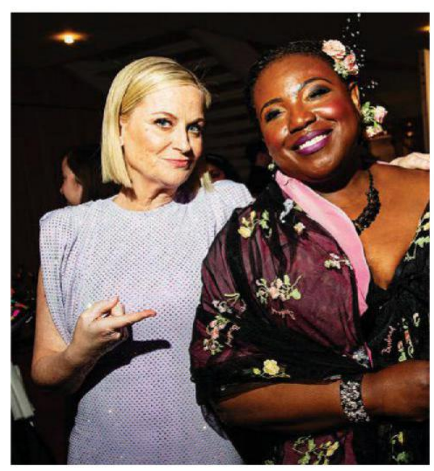
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Time Off

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TIME100 gala

On April 26, TIME hosted a special event at Manhattan's Jazz at Lincoln Center celebrating the 2023 list of the world's most influential people, featuring a performance by Doja Cat *(top left)* and Ke Huy Quan and Drew Barrymore presenting Steven Spielberg with a TIME100 Impact Award *(left)*. Also in attendance *(clockwise from top right):* Barrymore, Lindsey Vonn, and TIME CEO Jessica Sibley; Jennifer Coolidge; Amy Poehler and Tracie D. Hall; Salma Hayek Pinault and Austin Butler; Ali Wong and Aubrey Plaza. **Want to watch the gala? Stream "TIME100" on Hulu or Disney+.**

On the covers



Photograph by Victoria Jones—Pool/AP



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WHCD brunch

On April 29, ahead of the White House Correspondents' Dinner and TIME's afterparty, Joe Biden's infrastructure czar Mitch Landrieu *(right)* talked to TIME's White House correspondent Brian Bennett about how Washington is broken.



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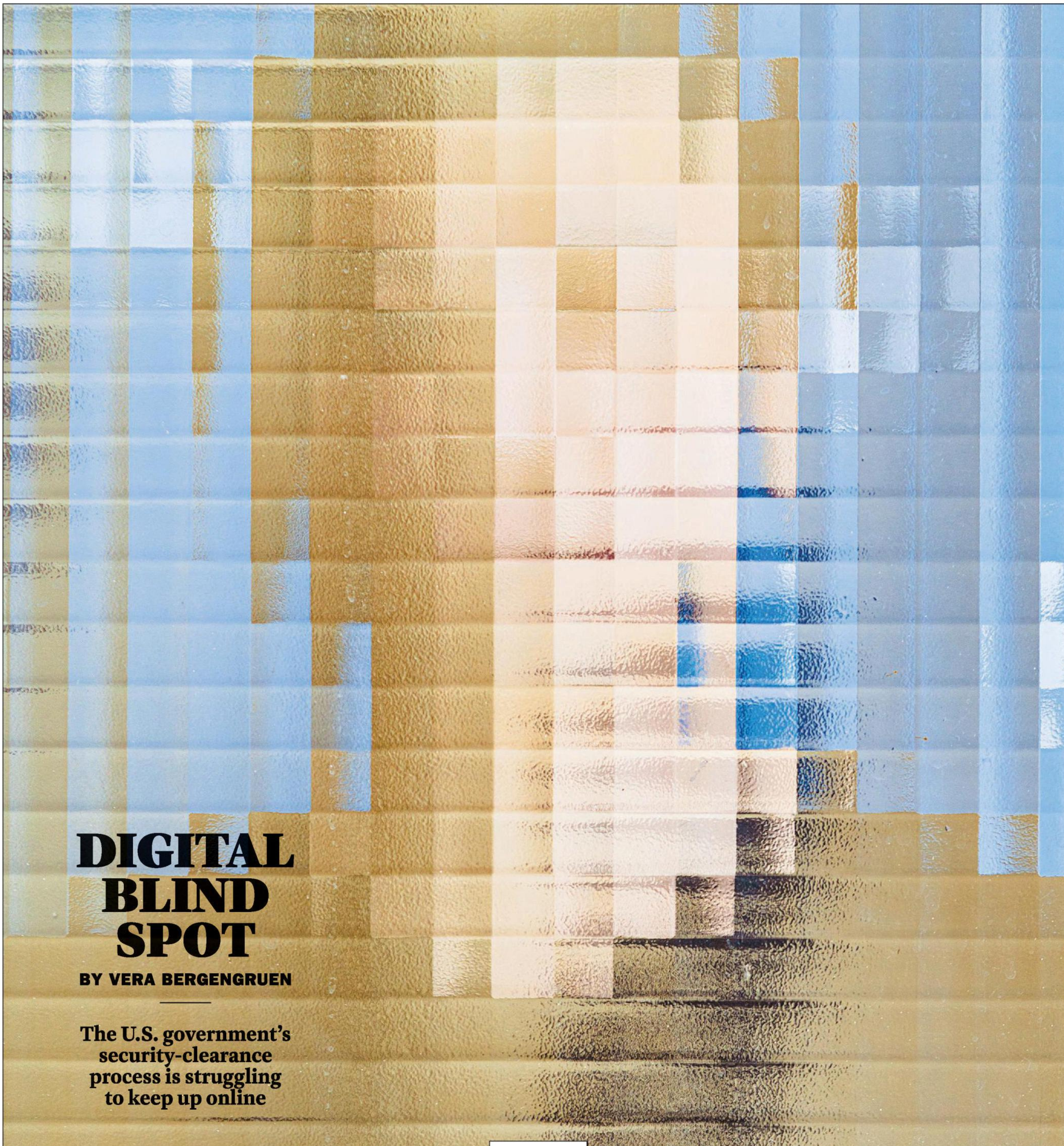


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The Brief



DIGITAL BLIND SPOT

BY VERA BERGENGRUEN

The U.S. government's security-clearance process is struggling to keep up online

INSIDE

THE WOMAN SUING FOX NEWS

PLAYING MAGIC: THE GATHERING WITH A SENATE CANDIDATE

PRIVATE SECURITY IS REPLACING POLICE

IN NOVEMBER 2020, JACK TEIXEIRA WROTE A letter to the local police chief asking him to reconsider allowing him to own guns. The Dighton, Mass., police had denied the 18-year-old's two previous requests for a firearms license, citing an incident when Teixeira was suspended for alleged violent and racial threats, including comments about guns at school.

This time, Teixeira's pleas worked. As a newly minted member of the Massachusetts Air National Guard, he had recently received a top-secret security clearance. "The investigation process was extremely thorough," he wrote to the police chief, arguing that the U.S. government had deemed him qualified to become "a person that now has the national trust to safeguard classified information."

That trust turned out to be misplaced. In April, Teixeira was arrested and charged with posting classified military documents online in the most damaging leak of U.S. intelligence in a decade, revealing sensitive information about the war in Ukraine and complicating relations with U.S. allies. Federal investigators also found that he had continued to regularly post "about violence and murder" in online forums, researched mass shootings, amassed an "arsenal" of weapons in his home, and asked for advice on how to turn an SUV into an "assassination van."

Not surprisingly, these revelations have raised new questions about the U.S. government's security-clearance process. For decades, the system has made judgments about whom to grant clearances based on the "whole person concept," considering the "totality" of the person's conduct in order to determine whether they pose an acceptable level of risk. The probe scrutinizes both personal and professional lives, from family relationships and interactions with foreigners to finances, mental health, sexual behavior, psychological state, past handling of protected information, and drug and alcohol use.

Social media would seem an obvious place to look. But unlike offline interactions, an applicant's digital life—like social media posts or online groups they belong to—is not typically analyzed and is very rarely investigated, according to national-security legal experts and U.S. officials.

Dozens of cases in recent years have exposed the double lives led online by people who underwent rigorous screenings to be granted high-level clearances. The government's blind spot only grows larger as a new generation of military service members, intelligence officers, government officials, and contractors come of age online. "Our physical and digital lives are merging," says Marek Posard, a military sociologist at the Rand Corp. "If the government does, in fact, want to assess risk using the whole-person concept, we need to recognize that people's lives exist online."

> **'We need to recognize that people's lives exist online.'**
>
> —**MAREK POSARD,** RAND CORP. MILITARY SOCIOLOGIST

THE CHALLENGE IS that following the digital trails of millions of applicants would raise a host of privacy and First Amendment issues and perhaps overwhelm an already balky process. Parsing teenagers' sometimes problematic but benign internet activity could also cause the U.S. to lose out on qualified applicants at a time when the military is struggling to recruit. In some realms, security-clearance criteria have been periodically updated to keep up with the times. (Guidance from the 1960s, for example, listed cohabitation and homosexuality as risk factors.) Yet the online lives of applicants—including the 1.3 million with top-secret clearances—remain largely off-limits. "The Investigator's Handbook is antiquated," Merton Miller, the associate director for the Federal Investigative Services, told congressional investigators probing flaws in the system in 2014. "I think most people would say it's a no-brainer."

Subsequent updates to the security-clearance criteria for individuals to access classified information have mentioned social media monitoring but put few concrete practices into effect. Almost 20 years after Facebook began, the Defense Counterintelligence and Security Agency (DCSA), which conducts the vast majority of background checks on people like Teixeira, is still "assessing options to integrate publicly available social media information searches into personnel vetting," a spokesman told TIME.

There's no shortage of examples. In more than a dozen recent high-profile cases reviewed by TIME, individuals with high-level security clearances left clear and often brazen trails online showing their links to extremist groups, violent propaganda, antigovernment activities, and leaks of classified U.S. information. "The security-vetting procedures are approaching a crossroads given the widespread use of social media and its existence as an untapped source of information for investigators," says Brad Moss, a lawyer who specializes in security clearance law.

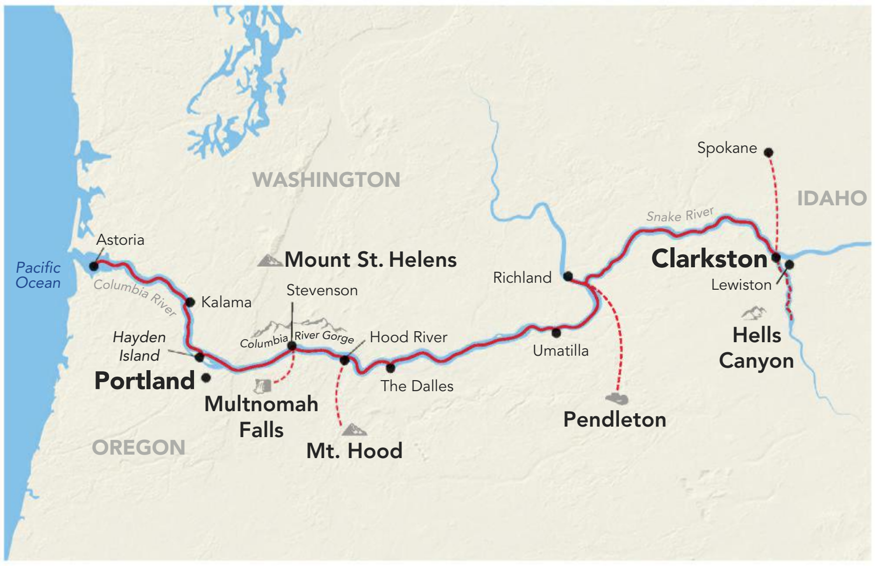
Whether that would solve the problem is another matter. The clearance process would have to keep up with the proliferation of online platforms, like Discord, where tomorrow's applicants spend their time. With almost 50% of active-duty U.S. service members under the age of 25, failing to do so could lead to a fresh generation of problems. "There needs to be a sustained effort to understand what trends are occurring," says Posard, "and what platforms are emerging on the forefront where there could be new risks." ◻

PREVIOUS PAGE: GETTY IMAGES

The Brief is reported by W.J. Hennigan, Sanya Mansoor, Olivia B. Waxman, and Julia Zorthian

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Writers walk

Pickets outside Paramount Pictures in Hollywood were among 11,500 film and television writers who went on strike on May 2, citing diluted pay and changed working conditions in the streaming era. Except for extended COVID-19 lockdowns, it was the first production shutdown since the Writers Guild of America strike 15 years ago.

THE BULLETIN

France is cracking down on the influencer industry

GLOBALLY, INFLUENCING WILL BE a $70 billion industry by 2029, according to Data Bridge Market Research. In France today, influencer marketing—which pays individuals to promote products to their followers—is worth an estimated hundreds of millions of euros. But the industry has never been formally recognized by the law. With the introduction of a new bill, the French government hopes to establish what it says is the first regulatory framework around influencing in Europe.

SCANDALS A wave of high-profile scandals have hit France's influencer sector recently. Reality television star Nabilla Benattia-Vergara *(right)*, for example, was handed a €20,000 fine for promoting Bitcoin to millions of Snapchat followers without disclosing that she was being paid to do so. Over 100 alleged victims came forward with a class-action lawsuit earlier this year, accusing French social media influencers of deliberately leading them to lose money on trading and NFT platforms.

TRAILBLAZING LEGISLATION The government says France could become the first country in the world to legally define what an influencer is, with regulations aiming to crack down on the types of products and services creators can advertise to their followers. The bill was adopted by the National Assembly, the lower chamber of Parliament, in late March, and is likely to pass a Senate vote in May.



FILTERS AND FRAUDS In its current form, the legislation will ban influencers from promoting cosmetic surgery, financial products, services like cryptocurrencies, and counterfeit products. It will also force creators to disclose when they place filters on photos and videos that are ads. For promotions that involve gambling or betting, posters will be required to include an informational banner about the risks. The Ministry of Economy has announced the creation of a task force dedicated to identifying infractions around commercial influencing.

—SIMMONE SHAH

STRIKE: DAVID MCNEW—GETTY IMAGES; INFLUENCERS: FOC KAN—WIREIMAGE/GETTY IMAGES

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MEDIA

She was Tucker Carlson's 'office mom.' Now she's suing

BY CHARLOTTE ALTER

AT FIRST, ABBY GROSSBERG THOUGHT FOX NEWS WOULD be her big break. When she got a job as the main producer of *Sunday Morning Futures* with Maria Bartiromo in 2019, she was responsible for booking guests, meeting newsmakers, and even sitting in on phone calls with President Donald Trump. In 2022, she moved to *Tucker Carlson Tonight,* where she became head of booking.

But in recent weeks, Grossberg has filed two lawsuits against her former employer. In one suit, filed in Delaware, she alleges that Fox News lawyers bullied her into giving false and misleading testimony in Dominion Voting Systems' defamation case against Fox, which the network settled in April for $787.5 million. According to Grossberg, the lawyers for the company coached her to "shade" her deposition in the Dominion lawsuit and coerced her to implicate herself and Bartiromo rather than Fox News executives. On May 9, Grossberg dropped that lawsuit, although her lawyer has said she intends to refile it in a different jurisdiction. In another lawsuit, filed in New York, Grossberg alleges that she was unfairly denied a promotion at *Sunday Morning Futures,* and that the work environment at *Tucker Carlson Tonight* was so hostile to women that it triggered a nervous breakdown. She's now suing for economic, punitive, and emotional-distress damages.

Grossberg was fired from Fox on March 24. She alleges the company fired her because she disclosed information about the Dominion case in her suit. Fox says the termination was related to her performance. "Fox News engaged an independent outside counsel to immediately investigate the concerns raised by Ms. Grossberg, which were made following a critical performance review," a Fox News spokesperson said in a statement. "We will continue to vigorously defend Fox against her unmeritorious legal claims which are riddled with false allegations against the network and our employees." Carlson's attorney did not reply to a request for comment.

In an extended interview with TIME, Grossberg offered her perspective about the charges at the core of both of these lawsuits: that Fox's relentless pursuit of ratings, combined with alleged gender discrimination at the company, created an environment where falsehoods and conspiracy theories thrived unchecked.

On her first day at *Tucker Carlson Tonight,* Grossberg says, she walked into the office to find it plastered with photos of Nancy Pelosi in a bikini. Soon, she says, she noticed that one of the senior producers had a mirror on his desk with the C-word written on it. "And every time I spoke out, I was excluded from meetings, further marginalized, berated in front of my team," Grossberg recalls. "There was a feeling of, she's the office mom."

While she never met Carlson in person—he worked mostly remotely—Grossberg says he would often demand staff find support for what he wanted to air, whether or not it was true. "Tucker sent marching orders every morning of what he wanted, and what the angles were going to be. And many of them were conspiracy theories," she says. "It was always like: Here's my point of view; this is what I want to say tonight. Find somebody who will say that."



^
Grossberg alleges that Fox News lawyers coached her to give false testimony

GROSSBERG: DESIREE RIOS—THE NEW YORK TIMES/REDUX; CARROLL: SPENCER PLATT—GETTY IMAGES; BLUE: BOB PEAK

Carlson's researchers combed right-wing fever swamps for incendiary stories, Grossberg alleges. "They would raise things and be like, 'We just can't find this. We can't connect these dots.' And then it would be on the air anyway," she says. "They looked at the ratings minute by minute."

> **'People consume this, they take it to heart, and they act on it.'**
>
> —ABBY GROSSBERG, FORMER FOX NEWS PRODUCER

CARLSON SEEMED SECURE at Fox. Bartiromo was different. Soon after arriving at Fox News, Grossberg says, she sensed Bartiromo had a target on her back. "I noticed the misogyny, how she was treated by other people at Fox," Grossberg recalls. She says she was once berated by a Fox senior producer for being too candid with Bartiromo. "He said, 'She's menopausal. She's crazy. We don't tell her things.'"

This environment made Bartiromo, who still works at Fox, desperate for anything that could shore up her position, Grossberg says. She believes the anchor's relationship with President Trump insulated Bartiromo—but when Trump lost the election, Bartiromo "was desperate" to hold onto that job insurance, Grossberg says. Even when Trump officials told Bartiromo that Joe Biden had won the election, the show became, as Grossberg puts it in her suit, the "tip of the spear in delivering the Big Lie." Bartiromo gave Trump extended airtime before the 2020 election to lay the groundwork for conspiracy theories, then hosted him for a postelection interview in which he sprayed falsehoods about the outcome. She interviewed Trump attorney Sidney Powell several times, giving Powell a platform to spread lies about voter fraud.

Grossberg's job often included recording Bartiromo's calls, and she is in talks to provide some of her transcripts to the office of special counsel Jack Smith, who was appointed to investigate Trump's attempts to interfere with the peaceful transfer of power. Grossberg alleges in her lawsuit that in one call, in December 2020, a senior Trump adviser stated "that there were in fact no issues with those [Dominion] machines." She says the adviser wanted to emphasize something else: the "Jan. 6 date as the true 'backstop' for determining the validity of the election."

Grossberg says that moment, and the insurrection that followed, was her "wake-up call." She concluded that Trump and his allies were using Fox News to promote claims about election fraud that they knew were false, and that those claims could lead to real political violence. "Seeing what we covered and then seeing the violence and thinking, 'Oh, you have a responsibility here with what we're doing. This isn't just about ratings and entertainment,'" she says. "This is not just a business. People consume this, they take it to heart, and they act on it."

Now, she says, her eyes are opened. "I see how that power and seduction influences people." ▫



AWARDED

E. Jean Carroll

$5 million in damages from Trump

ON MAY 9, A MANHATTAN JURY FOUND FORMER President Donald Trump liable for sexually abusing and defaming writer E. Jean Carroll. The jury awarded Carroll $5 million in damages after a two-week civil trial in which she testified that Trump sexually assaulted her over 25 years ago in a New York department store, and then defamed her after she spoke out about it in 2019.

A 79-year-old former *Elle* magazine columnist, Carroll is one of over 20 women who have accused Trump of sexual misconduct since the 1980s. Trump, 76, has denied all allegations. This is the first such claim that has been tried before a jury.

"I'm here because Donald Trump raped me and when I wrote about it, he said it didn't happen. He lied and shattered my reputation. I'm here to try to get my life back," Carroll said in court. Carroll has said that the attention she received after speaking out and Trump's insults inspired intense backlash on social media and cost her her job at *Elle.*

The jury checked "sexual abuse" over "rape" on the verdict form. Because it was a civil case, Trump was not convicted of a crime and faces no prison time. But it follows another history-making turn for Trump, who in April became the first former President to be criminally indicted in a separate case related to allegedly falsifying business records over hush-money payments to a porn star.

After the verdict in the Carroll case, Trump, who is running for President again, posted on his social media platform, Truth Social: "This verdict is a disgrace—a continuation of the greatest witch hunt of all time." He said he would appeal the ruling. In her own statement, Carroll described the jury's decision as a victory "for every woman who has suffered because she was not believed."

—ANISHA KOHLI

FAILED

First Republic Bank, which was seized by regulators and sold to JPMorgan Chase on May 1—the latest collapse in a monthslong banking crisis.

CHARGED

Representative George Santos of New York, with fraud, theft, money laundering, and making false statements, in a May 9 federal indictment. He pleaded not guilty.

WON

A copyright lawsuit, by **singer-songwriter Ed Sheeran,** with a federal jury ruling May 2 that he did not plagiarize Marvin Gaye.

SURPASSED

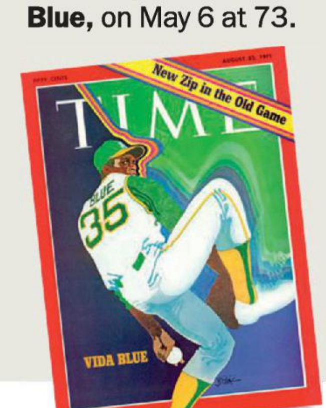
200 mass shootings in the U.S. this year, according to the nonprofit Gun Violence Archive, during a first weekend in May that saw a gunman at a Dallas-area mall kill eight people.

ARRESTED

Pakistan's **former Prime Minister Imran Khan,** by paramilitary forces on May 9, on corruption charges, sparking protests.

DIED

▸ Daytime **talk-show host Jerry Springer,** on April 27 at 79.
▸ Canadian **singer-songwriter Gordon Lightfoot,** whose hits included "The Wreck of the Edmund Fitzgerald," on May 1 at 84.
▸ Oakland Athletics **fastball pitcher Vida Blue,** on May 6 at 73.



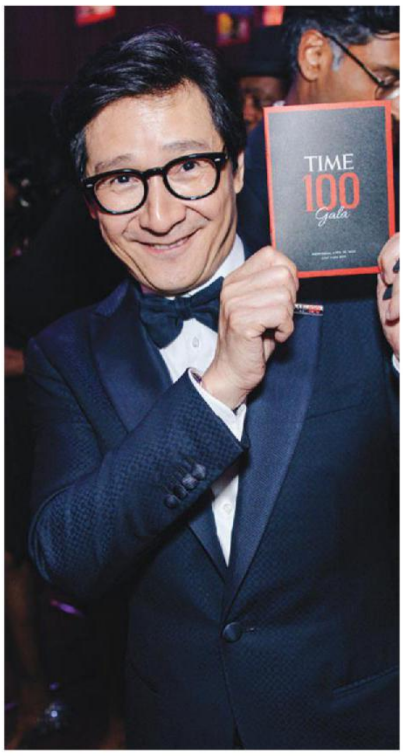
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Kunce and cards from the game Magic: The Gathering

POLITICS

Playing Magic: The Gathering with Senate hopeful Lucas Kunce

BY MINI RACKER

WHEN MISSOURI SENATE CANDIDATE LUCAS KUNCE logs on to Zoom for our game of Magic: The Gathering, he isn't messing around. He has what he calls his "streamer setup"— an extra computer monitor— and has opted for Standard, a dynamic version of the strategic trading-card game where we build decks ahead of time using cards from the most recent sets. I don't often play Standard, so I've "netdecked"—built my deck based off an online list.

I soon see a problem: I don't recognize Kunce's deck at all. It's one he's built himself. He plays Field of Ruin, which destroys one of my nonbasic lands, then does it again by bringing Field back with Conduit of Worlds. He then plays Jace, the Perfected Mind to dump my entire deck into my graveyard, an uncommon strategy that wins him the game.

Few politicians advertise their interest in a hobby as nerdy as Magic: The Gathering. But for Kunce, a clean-cut, populist Marine vet, Magic has been such an integral part of his life for three decades that it's seeped into his political identity. He draws a comparison between his campaign strategy and Magic: "I'm not meta-decking," he says, a similar term to *netdecking*. "I want to do something different."

This is Kunce's second Senate bid. During his campaign for Missouri's open seat last year, he got buzz in the national press as the sort of Democrat who might have a shot in a state turning darker red. He's an antitrust advocate who supports abortion access and wants to repeal Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act to regulate Big Tech. Kunce lost the primary to Anheuser-Busch heiress Trudy Busch Valentine, who went on to lose to Republican Eric Schmitt. Now Kunce seeks to challenge Republican incumbent Josh Hawley for the Senate seat that comes up in 2024.

> **'Josh Hawley ... completely netdecked.'**
>
> —LUCAS KUNCE, MISSOURI SENATE CANDIDATE

Kunce continues the Magic metaphor: "Josh Hawley, corporate country-club Republican, completely netdecked ... In that party, there's two netdeck paths to winning: it's big corporate money, or you've got to be a culture-crazy type." Kunce's long-shot campaign raised $1.1 million in the first quarter of the year, more than Hawley did in the same period.

KUNCE, 40, GREW UP in a working-class neighborhood, where his family lived paycheck to paycheck. He started playing Magic in middle school to "escape," he says. When I ask what card best represents him, Kunce pulls out a binder containing more than 50 copies of Wanderlust, a card depicting a little guy with a walking stick gazing out at a hilltop. As a kid who didn't know if he'd ever get to see the world, Kunce loved that art. He says he has nearly every version of the card ever made.

Kunce did get to see the world. He got a Pell Grant and attended Yale. Magic helped him scrape by then too. "I had a mint-condition Alpha Ancestral Recall," Kunce says, naming a card that now sells for upwards of $10,000. He sold it to help buy a new car.

He later joined the Marine Corps and deployed to Iraq and Afghanistan, where he and other service members played the game to decompress. These days, he plays on the virtual platform that hosted our game, MTG Arena, while making fundraising calls or traveling between campaign stops. When a conservative news outlet recently called him a "nerd" for his love of the game, Kunce's tweet proudly confirming the story went viral, with many Magic players saying it prompted them to donate.

Around midnight, I'm still thinking about my loss. I log on to Arena and play against a stranger. I see one of my friends is online: it's Lucas Kunce, up late, still playing. ◻

PHOTO-ILLUSTRATION BY TIME; SOURCE PHOTOS: GETTY IMAGES (5)



"As a breast cancer researcher, I know first-hand that prevention, screening, and treatment options are not one-size-fits-all. A person's health care is impacted by their genes, as well as their environment and lifestyle. That's why inclusion and participation in health research—with people from all backgrounds and experiences—is important. It's also why I'm so excited about the *All of Us* Research Program. It offers an unparalleled opportunity to truly include participants that are from historically underrepresented groups. And while researchers like me are using the data to power discoveries, the real power is the diverse make-up of the many participants who have chosen to join and share their health information."

— Elizabeth Burnside, M.D., M.P.H., M.S.
All of Us **Research Program, Researcher**
University of Wisconsin, School of Medicine and Public Health

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5 ways to find humor in everyday life

BY ANGELA HAUPT

IF YOU THINK YOUR LIFE IS too boring to be funny, joke's on you: humor is all around us.

Cultivating more humor in your everyday life is "one of the fastest and most powerful ways to increase overall health and well-being," says Steven M. Sultanoff, a clinical psychologist and professor at Pepperdine University who studies how people can benefit from the healing powers of humor. "The experience of humor and distressing emotions can't occupy the same psychological space," he says.

Adding humor to your daily life can lead to a wide array of benefits. Research suggests that it sparks energy, boosts brainpower, improves immunity, curbs stress, and improves mood. Some of those benefits stem from laughter, which is the physical response to humor, Sultanoff says. But not everyone laughs when they're amused—and you don't have to in order to reap benefits. Experiencing humor also has less visible effects; it shifts thinking in healthy ways and provides new perspectives. Plus, it leads to what Sultanoff describes as "relational fusion," or the social benefits derived from laughing with others. "When you experience humor with somebody, you bond with them—there's this moment of connection," he says. "When people are bonded, they generally feel more relaxed, safer, and more comfortable."

We asked Sultanoff and other experts for their favorite ways to lighten up everyday life.

ILLUSTRATIONS BY BROWN BIRD DESIGN FOR TIME

1. Figure out what makes you laugh



Comedy is like music—we're all drawn to different genres, says Kate Nichols, a New Jersey–based psychotherapist and stand-up comedian. Think about what kind of humor appeals to you the most, then **seek it out as often as possible.** Go to comedy shows, spend more time with people who make you laugh, and put on a funny movie "instead of that hard-hitting emotional drama you usually watch," Nichols says. Social media can also be useful: create a folder on Instagram or TikTok where you can save the funniest memes or videos, and then return to them when you need a moment of levity.

2. Identify at least one funny thing a day



We're often oblivious to what's in front of us until we start looking for it, so set a daily intention to **look for humor.** "When you wake up in the morning, say, 'I'm going to find one thing today that I can giggle at or at least smile about,'" suggests Allen Klein, author of *The Healing Power of Humor.* "Then see what happens." You'll likely find the funny in unexpected places—and laugh a lot more than usual.

3. Train yourself to be quick-witted



Sultanoff integrates humor into his psychotherapy practice in a variety of ways. He recalls a client who had taken his infant to a hair salon on a rainy day, and as he was leaving, the stylist said, "Be sure to cover up the baby"—a comment that really irked him. Sultanoff issued a challenge: If the man could go back in time, what might he say? The funnier, the better. Sultanoff was delighted by what his client came up with: "Don't worry about the baby. He hasn't had a shower yet today." It's an easy exercise to repeat after uncomfortable experiences. **Brainstorm quips,** and you'll "train yourself to at some point be able to do them in the moment they occur," landing a one-liner in real time.

4. Master one joke



Many of us innately love to make others laugh, and doing so doesn't require great comedic skill. "I tell people to **learn one simple, good joke,**" Sultanoff says. "It doesn't have to be long." Practice it, then use it in situations that need some levity.

5. Enlist props



If you end up sitting next to Klein in traffic, you might notice he's wearing a bright red clown nose. "The world is so serious these days," he says. "I put it on, and I look in my rearview mirror. It instantly lightens things up." One couple he knows **puts on clown noses every time they start to argue,** immediately breaking the tension. Sultanoff also encourages the use of props. After getting an X-ray, he likes to slip on glowing red thumb lights, tell the tech he's feeling strangely radiant, and then gives a thumbs-up. "That person has a moment of joy with me, and then goes home and tells other people the story," he says. "It's a highlight of my day, and hopefully theirs."



NATION

As police forces shrink, private security takes over

BY ALANA SEMUELS/NORTH PHILADELPHIA



ANDRE BOYER ENTERS THE GAS STATION LIKE A SOLDIER—back straight, boots shined, AR-15 pointed toward the floor. He seems unaware of the flutter of anxiety spreading through the store, but if anyone asked, which they don't, he'd assure them that he's there for their own good.

"We're not here to beat people up," says Boyer, who heads S.I.T.E, a private protection agency that is patrolling gas stations and hotels in Philadelphia at the behest of store owners. "We're here to let the public know that they can feel safe."

Boyer's armed-guard service has boomed over the past year as Philadelphia police staffing issues led to longer response times. Neil Patel, who owns the gas station, hired Boyer in December after thieves stole an ATM and the police didn't respond for six hours.

Across the country, police departments that already were struggling to recruit new applicants saw a spike in retirements and a drop-off in new recruits after the 2020 murder of George Floyd and subsequent backlash against police, says Chuck Wexler, the executive director of the Police Executive Research Forum. The number of sworn officers dropped 7% from 2019 to 2021 nationwide, according to FBI data.

Meanwhile, crime was rising in many parts of America. Murders, assaults, and car thefts rose nationally in 2020, according to the Brennan Center for Justice, and first responders found themselves busy confronting crises such as homelessness and opioids. These factors bolstered a private security industry that had already been growing steadily since the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001. Since 2020, it's soared.

Today, there are roughly twice as many security guards employed in the U.S. as there were 20 years ago, according to the Security Industry Association, though the nation's population has grown only 16% over the same time period. By 2021, there were about two police officers but 3.1 security guards for every 1,000 residents.

"Private security is going to take over everything," says Boyer. He adds that a father recently hired him to take his two children to the movies, armed with a shotgun, to make sure they were safe.

The rise of private security is both driven by income inequality—wealthy people have more things to protect and money to spend to protect them—and exacerbates it. For every Neil Patel who spends $750 a day for round-the-clock armed guards, there are thousands of business owners and civilians who have to make do with what their taxes can buy. The Los Angeles police department is not meeting its staffing goals, for instance, but the city's neighbor, tony Beverly Hills, Calif., has hired two security firms to patrol the city in cars or on foot as "an extension of the police," says Todd Johnson, CEO of the Beverly Hills Chamber of Commerce.

"We want to make sure that the luxury capital of the world is also one of the safest places," Johnson says.

> **'I've had guns pointed at me ... all for $16 an hour.'**
>
> —BRANDON MUSE, PRIVATE SECURITY GUARD

PRIVATE SECURITY HAS BEEN a presence in America for centuries; Pinkerton, a private security company founded by immigrant Allan Pinkerton around 1850, is well known for its claims to have foiled an 1861 plot to murder President-elect Abraham Lincoln. But the industry has changed dramatically since then. Today, it is dominated by massive conglomerates like Allied Universal and GardaWorld; Pinkerton is now a subsidiary of Securitas AB, which has 358,000 employees in 45 markets. Allied Universal, the world's largest security company, became America's third largest employer in 2021, behind only Amazon and Walmart, when it acquired G4S, another security company.

The security industry is so consolidated because it's a very low-margin business, says Michael Field, an analyst with Morningstar.



Private security guard Andre Boyer outside a North Philadelphia gas station

MICHELLE GUSTAFSON FOR TIME

Clients aren't willing to pay high wages for someone who is mostly there to deter crime (private security guards are typically instructed to call police if there's an incident) and who doesn't actually produce revenue for their business. With such low margins, many companies have to keep costs down. They do that by paying service-industry wages and by staffing even high-crime areas with only one guard, says Rick McCann, the founder of Private Officer International, an association for security officers that tracks trends in the industry. While law-enforcement officers make an average of $70,000 a year nationally, security guards make around half of that.

"The way the security industry operates is what I called the McDonald's model—they don't sell quality, they sell quantity," says McCann. The big companies that dominate the market often hire lots of people at once, assuming turnover will be high, he says. One casualty of that approach may be adequate vetting and training.

Twenty-one states don't require any amount of training for unarmed security officers, according to the National Association of Security Companies. Even in states with requirements, enforcement is difficult because there are so many guards spread out across so many locations and states lack staffing to enforce the rules.

The rapid rate of hiring is proving dangerous. In the past few months alone, a private security guard at a Miami Metrorail station allegedly shot and killed a rider in what was reported to be a dispute; a guard at a New York City Walgreens punched an alleged shoplifter and then was arrested for assault; and police say that a security guard shot a patron of a Baltimore pizza shop after an altercation. In the past decade, 309 security officers have been arrested for manslaughter or murder while on duty, according to McCann.

The unregulated boom in security isn't just dangerous for the general public—it's also dangerous for the guards, who are risking their personal safety by showing up at work. While a few years ago, a security guard stationed at a retail store might be there just to deter minor shoplifting, today those guards have to deal with organized retail crime. Guards may be told that their job is to just act as a deterrent but find themselves in situations where customers are looking to them for protection. McCann estimates that there are 13,000 assaults on security officers annually, and that of the 145 security officers who die on duty in an average year, 85% are murdered.

"I've had gun lasers and guns pointed at me, I've had a boulder thrown through my rear window, I've had a guy admit to pistol whipping his wife when I respond to a noise complaint," says Brandon Muse, who was a security guard for Allied Universal in Sacramento for three years. "All for $16 an hour." Allied said, in a statement provided to TIME, that it investigates the causes of all incidents and "takes appropriate action to limit the possibility of similar situations reoccurring."

OSTENSIBLY, SECURITY GUARDS are hired to make people feel safer. But, understandably, some civilians feel uneasy around the increased presence of guns and guards who are largely unregulated. Because the laws regulating private security vary from state to state, there's a gray area where neither guards, their employers, nor the public knows exactly what a private security officer can and can't do on the job.

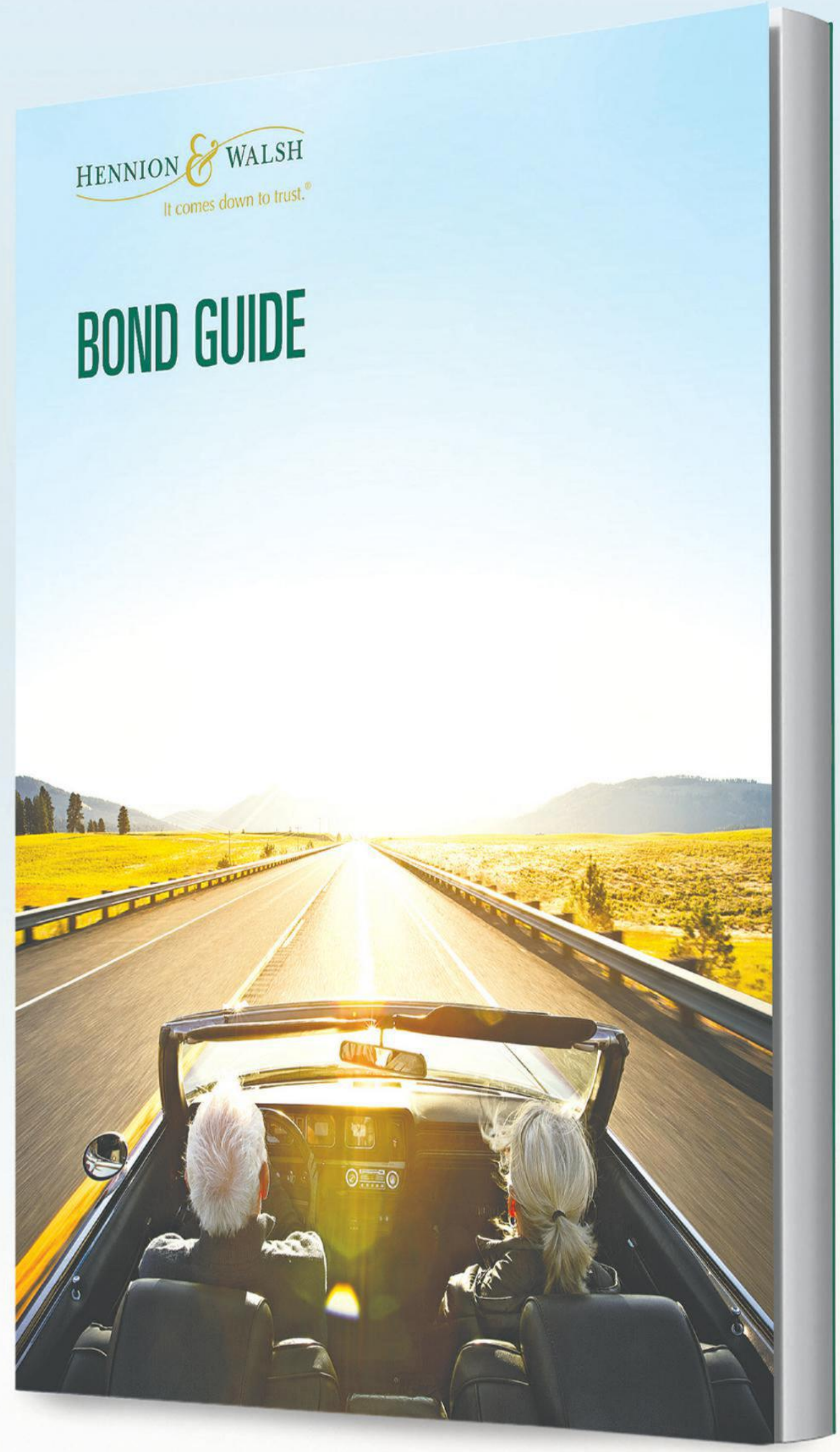
Though many security companies will say that their employees act only as a deterrent, others have a different take. Boyer, the Philadelphia guard, says that if someone steals from the gas station where he works, the law allows him to "go after that person" to retrieve the property. (A spokesman from the Pennsylvania state police disagreed.)

It's true that Patel, the gas-station owner, says he hasn't had to report one criminal incident since hiring Boyer's firm. Before then, he says, his store was a constant blur of crime; people stealing and carjacking—one time, his car was vandalized while police were in the store, taking down a report about another crime. He's sick of it all. I ask: Couldn't an armed guard have escalated those situations and led to someone being killed? "Too bad," he says. "They deserve it." Then he retreated behind the bulletproof glass shielding his cash register. ◻

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The View

NATION

OUR COVID-19 LESSONS

BY KIZZMEKIA S. CORBETT

More than three years into the COVID-19 pandemic and with America's public-health emergency expiring on May 11, it is clear that this moment is an opportunity not only to reflect on successes but also to grapple with the setbacks, pitfalls, and failures that defined our response. The responsibility to improve our response to future health crises lies in correcting our failures in this one. ▶

INSIDE

TURKEY'S MOMENTOUS ELECTION CHALLENGE

THE SUICIDE CRISIS OVERWHELMING AMERICAN GIRLS

WHAT MOTHERS REALLY WANT FOR MOTHER'S DAY

I was a senior researcher at the National Institutes of Health, leading a team that developed a COVID-19 vaccine. As I review our fight against the virus, from the front row of the front line, three paths of action stand out.

First, the government needs to change the paradigm that defines the focus of federal research, with an emphasis on being proactive instead of reactive. There are 23 families of viruses associated with human infection, and the state of the research into each of these families varies significantly. In my specialty of coronaviruses, we had made significant strides before the pandemic struck. The strides we made were not because of any extraordinary funding streams, but merely because we were interested in closing gaps in scientific understanding—particularly in light of the recent threats posed by SARS-1 and MERS, which showed the pandemic potential of coronaviruses.



Coffins in Italy awaiting transport for cremation on April 7, 2020

It is often deemed "miraculous" that our COVID-19 vaccine progressed to a Phase 1 clinical trial in merely 66 days, but the process could have been even more efficient had our technology gone into Phase 1 clinical trial before the pandemic. Basking in our successes means admitting that we were dealt a lucky hand; the pandemic response could have been way worse. Our understanding of many of these viral families lags far behind our understanding of coronaviruses. If a pathogen from one of those ever takes off, our wait to clinical trial might be 600 days, not 66.

I'd like to see us invest in each of the 23 viral families that infect humans. The National Institutes of Health should lay out checkpoints: key scientific milestones we need to hit for each viral family, so we're ready to move rapidly in case a pathogen emerges and begins to spread. The investment would be significant, but the total cost would be far smaller than COVID-19's estimated $16 trillion drag on America's economy and the enormous toll of lives lost.

SECOND, PUBLIC-HEALTH practitioners need to recognize that our research is only as good as our communication. Even our strongest peer-reviewed, evidence-driven findings won't have their full impact if we cannot clearly and effectively communicate them to the public. Public-health communicators must project both their humanity and their expertise, a difficult tightrope in a polarized political environment. Clarity, conciseness, honesty, and empathy go a long way with the public, especially in moments of uncertainty.

Public-health leaders must also recognize that sometimes the messenger is just as important as the message. Instead of relying heavily on leadership in D.C., we must tap into trusted voices in communities across this country, from physicians to community health workers to pharmacists.

Once appropriately empowered, these community leaders made a big difference during the pandemic. I'd like to see us build a strong network that lets officials at the White House and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention promptly share relevant public-health information with local leaders—on a regular basis, not just during a crisis.

Finally, we must understand that health leaders cannot solve these crises alone; we have to work in partnership with the public. As a result, we must step up our efforts to teach critical thinking in schools and workplaces so when people do their own research, they come to reasonable conclusions.

This problem has become more challenging in recent years with the flood of content on social media. Much is misinformed, and some is maliciously and knowingly false. We need to help people learn how to separate fact from fiction. That will help us triumph over the snake-oil salesmen who use confusion to spread lies.

These changes aren't easy. Each would be expensive, time-consuming, and difficult to implement. But we have seen the consequences of a pandemic under the previous status quo, and we cannot allow ourselves to settle back into that flawed approach.

Corbett, a TIME100 Next honoree, is an assistant professor at the Harvard T.H. Chan School of Public Health

The View is reported by Leslie Dickstein and Julia Zorthian

PANDEMIC: MARCO DI LAURO—GETTY IMAGES; TURKEY: BURAK KARA—GETTY IMAGES

THE RISK REPORT BY IAN BREMMER

Erdogan may face both an election and a decision



FOR MORE THAN 20 years, Recep Tayyip Erdogan has remade and dominated Turkey's politics. First as Prime Minister, then as President, he built a political foundation with support from voters outside the country's powerhouse cities—Istanbul, Ankara, and Izmir—with appeals to traditional religious values and socially conservative policies.

Over time, however, he has also polarized the country by amassing more and more executive power in his own hands, and by silencing, in some cases imprisoning, critics and journalists who tell stories he doesn't like. He has sidelined judges who don't rule his way. Following a failed military coup in 2016, he purged the upper ranks of the army.

Now he faces his toughest test. The largest opposition parties have united behind the candidacy of a single challenger, a technocrat named Kemal Kilicdaroglu. Voting begins on May 14, and a second-round runoff on May 28 appears likely between the combative and charismatic Erdogan and the mild-mannered and consensus-oriented Kilicdaroglu. Current polling says this race could go either way.

Outsiders will focus on expected differences in their foreign policies. Even as a member of the NATO alliance, Erdogan has established a degree of independence between the West and Russia. At various times, he has both courted and infuriated Russia, Europe, and the U.S. with a transactional approach to nearly every important question. His ability to play one off the other is limited by Turkey's dependence for security on NATO and on Russia for a strong economy, particularly in the tourism sector. Erdogan has not joined other NATO members in full backing for Ukraine, but he has offered Turkey's services as a crucial dealmaker, including on the flow of both Ukrainian and Russian agricultural products out of the Black Sea and into the Mediterranean. Erdogan's harsh words for the E.U. and some European governments, and his foot-dragging on questions like NATO membership for Finland and Sweden, has made him a gadfly in Brussels.



Posters for Kemal Kilicdaroglu, the opposition's presidential candidate in Turkey's May 14 election

That's the main reason a Kilicdaroglu victory would be welcomed in Europe and in Washington. His foreign policy would focus on restoring trust in Turkey's reliability as an ally for both NATO and the E.U., even as he continues to approach Vladimir Putin with pragmatic caution. Kilicdaroglu would also be expected to breathe new life into Turkey's long-term bid to join the European Union. If so, E.U. officials would respond with warm diplomatic pleasantries, but the cost of support for Ukraine and hesitancy in Europe about Turkey's longer-term direction will encourage Brussels to slow-play a return to serious accession negotiations.

YET THERE'S a more immediate question that has the attention of observers both inside and outside Turkey. If Kilicdaroglu wins the presidency by a razor-thin margin, might Erdogan simply reject the result? He's done it before. When his party's candidate lost the race for mayor of Istanbul in 2019, Erdogan forced Turkey's electoral court to annul the result and rerun the election. This strategy would work only if the vote is close, but the stakes for Erdogan are now much higher. This time, it's his name on a nationwide ballot. If Erdogan hesitates, it would likely be because his party then lost that rerun Istanbul mayor's race by a much bigger margin, dealing Erdogan's reputation for political invincibility a blow from which it hasn't fully recovered.

It would still be a mistake to underestimate Erdogan's willingness to urge his supporters into the streets, and opposition demonstrators would be quick to respond, creating political upheaval. It would also be a mistake to doubt Erdogan's ability to win. His political talent and the loyalty of his supporters remain formidable. ◻



Health Matters
By Jamie Ducharme
HEALTH CORRESPONDENT

Researchers have long tracked the mental health of America's teen girls. They've found that depression has become more common over the past decade, and in 2015, the suicide rate among teenage girls hit a 40-year high.

More recently, data from the U.S. Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) has shown that nearly 60% of U.S. teenage girls feel sad or hopeless—and in 2021, **30% said they had considered suicide in the prior year, up from 24% two years earlier, a new report finds.** In addition, about 24% had made a suicide plan, 13% had attempted suicide, and 4% required medical care related to an attempt. Among boys, those percentages were about 14%, 12%, 7%, and 2%, respectively.

Suicidal thinking was more common among teens who did not identify as heterosexual. American Indian or Alaska Native girls were most at risk, but rates among Black, Hispanic, and white female students rose most dramatically.

It's hard to say why these rates are increasing, since suicidal behavior rarely has one cause. But understanding why certain teenagers are more likely than others to think about, plan for, and attempt suicide may help researchers design school- or community-based support programs.

Noting the differing rates among teenagers of various genders, sexual orientations, and racial and ethnic backgrounds, the CDC report suggests developing interventions tailored to people of all identities.

If you or someone you know may be experiencing a mental-health crisis or contemplating suicide, call or text 988.

For more health news, sign up for Health Matters at **time.com/health-matters**





The D.C. Brief
By Philip Elliott
WASHINGTON CORRESPONDENT

DIANNE FEINSTEIN HAD ALREADY made history back in 1978, when she became the first woman elected to lead the San Francisco board of supervisors, effectively setting the agenda for the legislative arm of the country's eighth largest economy at the time. She was, in practice, the Speaker of the S.F. House. But when a former colleague turned assassin returned to city hall with the intent to kill four political rivals, it was Feinstein who found her colleague Harvey Milk dead. Five bullets struck America's first out gay politician, including two directly into Milk's head at point-blank range, just down the corridor from Feinstein's office.

Before reaching Milk's office, the gunman had killed Mayor George Moscone, leaving a vacuum that demanded Feinstein immediately rise to become the first woman to lead San Francisco. For Feinstein, the circumstances of her promotion to mayor felt deeply unrewarding, but she would go on to win the seat on her own and serve for 10 years. It was one of the string of firsts that would mark a remarkable career in politics stretching from her first appointment in 1960 to the California women's parole board until now, when she is the oldest member of the U.S. Senate—and, owing to challenging health these days, its most debated figure.

To say Feinstein, now 89, is facing mounting pressure to resign would be to undersell the frustration among even her biggest fans. **Feinstein is fast becoming a master class in how to spoil a legacy.** She is providing a stunning demonstration in how to soil an inevitable obituary with tales of missteps rather than of purpose. Rather than being MIA, she is now seen as AWOL, even by her apologists.

Senator Dick Durbin, by no means a radical in his caucus, and Feinstein's successor as the top Democrat on the powerful Judiciary Committee, made clear how much the narrative had shifted.

'There has been no slowdown.'

—SENATOR DIANNE FEINSTEIN, D., CALIF.

Feinstein and Bill Clinton earned tickets to D.C. in the same election

“The bottom line is: the business of the committee and of the Senate is affected by her absence,” Durbin said.

Feinstein’s truancy for the past almost three months, ostensibly to fight shingles, has left the Senate largely paralyzed, especially on the most important thing Democrats can do without the cooperation of the Republican-led House, and that’s to confirm federal judges. Then, on May 9, her office confirmed that her doctors had cleared her to return to Washington, where no doubt she would have to join blunt talks about her party’s future, with or without her vote.

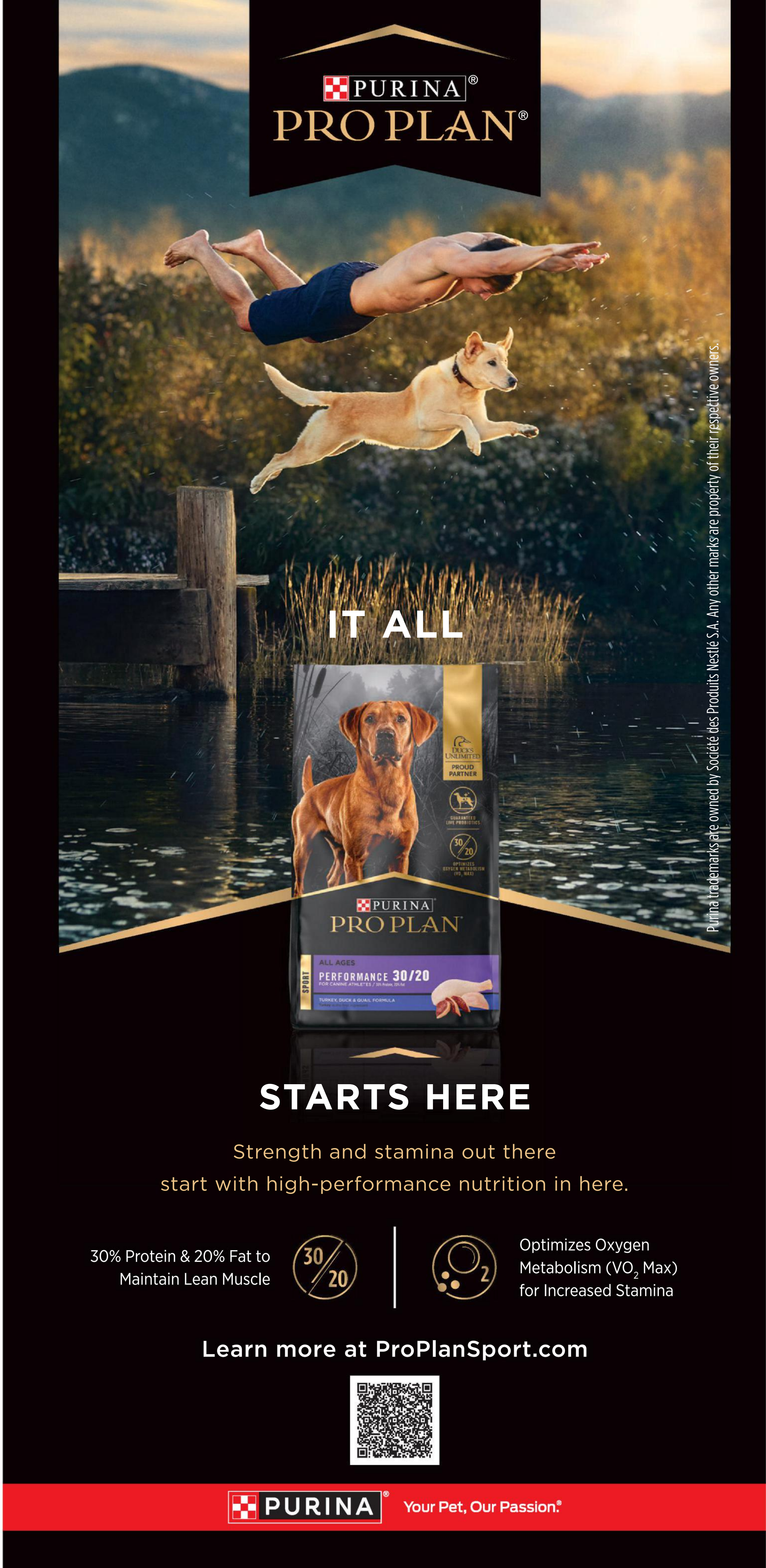
Absent a functioning Judiciary Committee, Democrats in the Senate are largely left to chase bipartisan fever dreams and bat back House Republicans’ stunts. Without her vote, Democrats were stuck with a listless 10-10 tie on Judiciary. Put bluntly: if she can’t be a constant presence, Feinstein could leave her Democratic colleagues wasting time in the 118th Congress, which ends in early 2025.

Feinstein had long kept her plans vague—as is the right of anyone facing such a personal decision rooted in a health crisis. But her 40 million constituents also deserve representation, and absent a voting lawmaker for months, that was getting tougher and tougher to defend.

Feinstein has been a remarkable force for good if you share her grounding in Democratic politics. Her run is almost unrivaled by any of her colleagues, male or female. Yet the political pressure bearing on her now is impossible to ignore. She’s been a first in so many roles, but may be the last to realize her time away from Washington is about so much more than herself.

For more insights from Washington, sign up for TIME’s politics newsletter at **time.com/theDCbrief**

MARK REINSTEIN—CORBIS/GETTY IMAGES



SOCIETY

Teach citizenship the way the founders intended

BY SAL KHAN AND JEFFREY ROSEN

NEW DATA RELEASED BY THE DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION—known as the Nation's Report Card and widely regarded as the best assessment of how well we are educating our future citizens—paints a stark and worrying picture. Eighth-graders scored worse on the history section this year than in any other since the test was first administered on the subject in 1994, and civics scores dropped for the first time since it was first tested in 1998. Fewer than 1 in 4 students scored as proficient.

The problem is not necessarily in the classroom. When our political leaders wage "school wars" over what historical models can and cannot be taught, they signal to students that certain views are simply not worth considering. When our news media promote the loudest and most antagonistic voices, students learn that shouting is more effective than listening. And when parents refuse to engage with arguments that they disagree with, students come to believe that listening to opposing viewpoints is a sign of weakness rather than of civic strength. Small wonder, then, that according to a recent UCLA–UC Riverside study, more than two-thirds of high school principals reported substantial political conflict over hot-button issues inside their classrooms.



We will endanger the American project if we fail to teach our children the principles of our democracy and the habits of civil dialogue necessary to sustaining it. Instead of building a better future by finding common ground, they will only slide deeper into partisanship and extremism.

Fortunately, there is a way out. But it requires a new way of thinking about civic education. We need to teach students not just history and civics, but also the virtues of democratic citizenship, beginning with the ability to consider arguments with which we disagree and to engage in dialogue and deliberation with people who hold views different from our own. In practice, this means giving students a rigorously nonpartisan education in American history and civics. We must expose them to the best arguments on all sides of the major constitutional debates past and present, and give them the tools to make up their own minds.

At the founding, leading framers including George Washington and James Madison dreamed of a national university that would bring together young Americans of different perspectives and backgrounds to teach the habits of deliberation and the core civic knowledge necessary to informed citizenship. They never built this institution, but technology makes it possible today.

The problem is not necessarily in the classroom

FOR EXAMPLE, our organizations are partnering to create a free online Constitution 101 course premised on a simple act: bringing together experts who genuinely disagree about the most important constitutional issues facing our nation today, and using their examples to model thoughtful, respectful civil dialogue. With a "faculty" composed of leading conservative and liberal historians, constitutional scholars, judges, and public servants, our course will teach students America's constitutional principles using primary sources spanning U.S. history, including Supreme Court decisions and the dissents. Exposed to ideas across the ideological spectrum, students will have the content and the space to consider America's past and present from multiple perspectives and reach their own conclusions.

There is already evidence that this approach works. In research conducted during a pilot phase of this new course, we found that 20% of students reported an increased desire to engage in difficult conversations both inside and outside their classrooms.

As we approach America's 250th birthday in 2026, we have the opportunity to reverse our civics spiral and revitalize knowledge of the ideals, rooted in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution, that unite us. It will take all the adults in the room to show our young citizens that compromise and deliberation are not vestiges of their grandparents' America.

Khan and Rosen are the respective heads of the educational organizations Khan Academy and the National Constitution Center

FRAZER WALLER—LOOP IMAGES/UNIVERSAL IMAGES GROUP/GETTY IMAGES

SOCIETY

Flowers and cards are nice. I'd rather have bodily autonomy

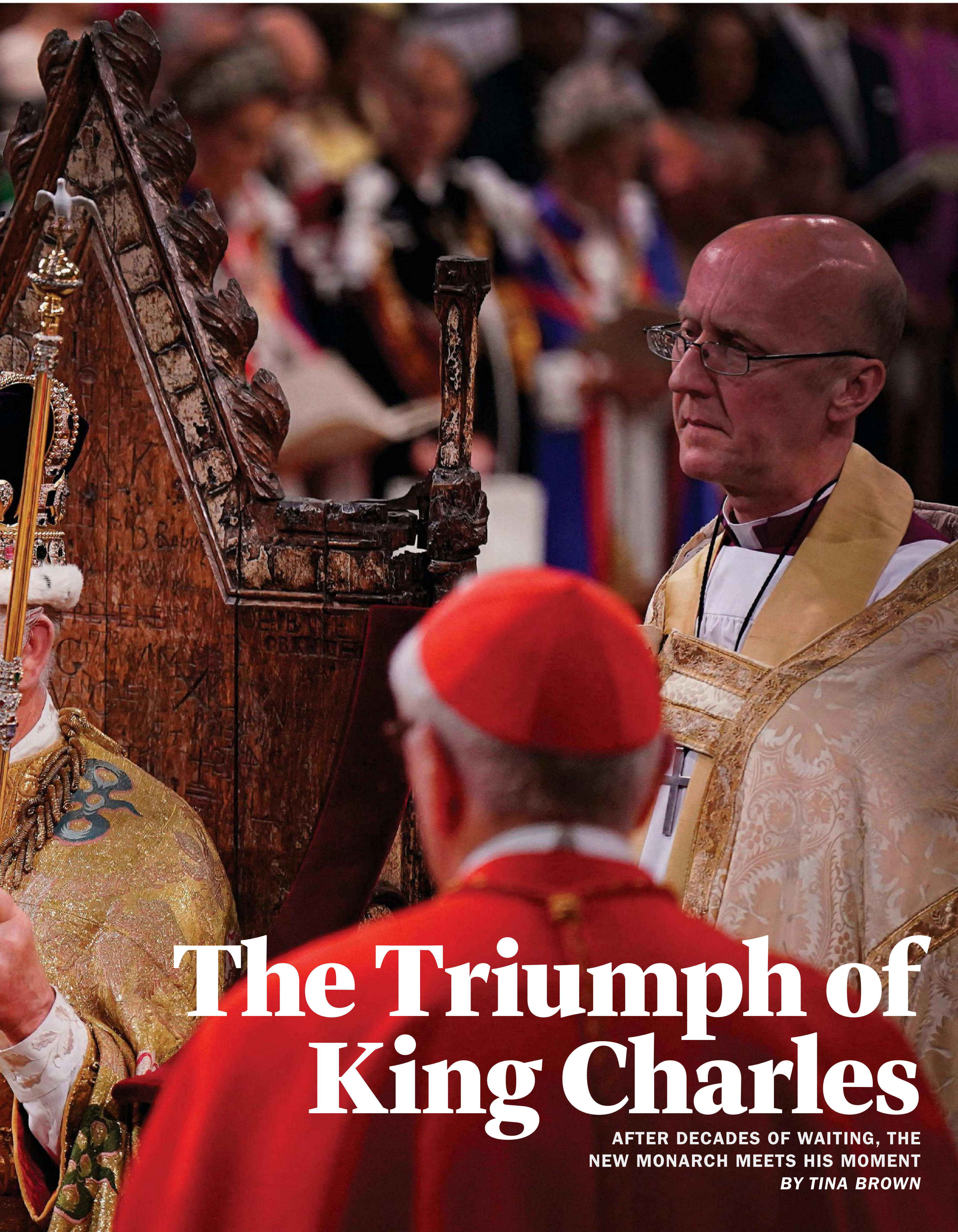
BY AUBREY HIRSCH



Hirsch is the author of the short-story collection Why We Never Talk About Sugar



King Charles III, in solemnity, wearing the St. Edward's Crown and holding the Sovereign's Sceptres in Westminster Abbey on May 6



The Triumph of King Charles

AFTER DECADES OF WAITING, THE NEW MONARCH MEETS HIS MOMENT

BY TINA BROWN

PHOTOGRAPH BY VICTORIA JONES

A

AS HE STOOD IN FOR HIS AILING 96-year-old mother at the opening of Parliament in May 2022, it was hard not to catch Prince Charles gazing mournfully at the Imperial Crown next to him on a velvet cushion. The irresistible thought bubble his expression suggested was "Mummy, when?"

Cue trumpets. On May 6, 2023, the 74-year-old man who spent more than five decades in the waiting room of his destiny—longer than any Prince of Wales in history—finally walked through its door. King Charles III by the Grace of God, of the (still) United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland and of His Other Realms and Territory, Head of the Commonwealth, and Defender of the Faith, had placed on his head by the Most Rev. Justin Welby (Archbishop of Canterbury) the nearly 5-lb. solid gold St. Edward's Crown at Westminster Abbey. Crowned alongside him was the 75-year-old woman who has herself shown years of shrewd, strategic patience: Queen Camilla. Even the baleful stare of Prince Harry, who blurted late that he would attend the ceremony—but without Meghan—cannot throw shade on the former mistress's vindication.

This was no off-the-rack coronation. A flurry of belabored palace bulletins in the past months about a "slimmed-down," budget-conscious ceremony suggested an occasion as suffused with mixed messages as the King himself. To whittle the guest list to 2,000 from the 8,000 hanging from the rafters at his mother's coronation, the cavalcade of ermined dukes was mostly booted in favor of National Health Service and charity workers and other inclusive representatives of an effortfully modern Britain. The few MPs who made the cut didn't get a plus-one (a bitter pill). Princes of the Blood and other grandees were not required to take the knee and swear a Shakespearean oath of fealty.



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The coronation procession, with Queen Camilla, inside Westminster

PREVIOUS PAGES: POOL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THESE PAGES: KIRSTY WIGGLESWORTH—POOL/AP

And unlike Queen Elizabeth's bladder-busting three-hour ceremony, this two-hour 21st century coronation was not much longer than a Premier League soccer match.

Not that the King would have arrived at his coronation in the Diamond Jubilee State Coach wearing a lounge suit. Nor would much daylight be let



into the magic of the anointing when, like his mother 70 years before, the King donned an austere, shiftlike garment off camera and was doused from a medieval spoon with consecrated oil. Unlike at Queen Elizabeth's coronation, no civet oil or ambergris from the intestines of sperm whales was added to the formula for the sometimes-vegan Charles. Then he slipped out of his sacred mufti into the gold, floor-length "supertunica," before emerging in the pièce de résistance of the deep purple Robe of Estate, or Imperial Robe.

IF IT ALL THREATENED to be irresistibly Monty Python, so what? The potent flummery of the monarchy still holds the British people in its thrall. It is meant to be a never-ending story, and the months since Charles' ascension have been a seamless rebrand of the House of Windsor as an institution built to survive. A recent BBC/YouGov poll found that 58% of Brits support the monarchy.

Charles' reign began with his pitch-perfect address to the nation after Elizabeth's death. Ten days later, striding

WORLD

A growing skepticism

Even as the pomp of coronation day got under way in Westminster Abbey, not everyone was excited. Antimonarchy sentiment in the U.K. has grown in recent years amid a string of royal scandals. The 25% of Brits now saying the country should have an elected head of state is up from 17% a decade ago, according to YouGov. Just 9% of people said they care "a great deal" about the coronation.

The British royals are the last in Europe to practice coronation ceremonies. The weekend's official events were expected to cost U.K. taxpayers at least £100 million ($125 million), though the government and Buckingham Palace refused to share the exact figure. "We're increasingly irrelevant, and the future of Britain seems quite backward," says Andy Hallett, who was attending a coronation event at Hyde Park. "We're no longer in the E.U., and we're poorer every year. All we have is for the masses to get excited about things like this."

A protest was planned at London's Trafalgar Square, a historically popular site for protests. But before it could begin, police arrested six people, including Graham Smith, the leader of antimonarchy group Republic, "on suspicion of breaching the peace." Two days later police apologized.

Smith told TIME in the run-up to the coronation that he expected as many as 1,700 people at the Trafalgar protest, to chant "Not my king" and hear speeches from lawmakers, activists, and representatives of other republican movements. The monarchy, he says, is inherently antidemocratic and Britain should have an elected head of state instead. By preventing some from peacefully protesting, the activists pointed out, British authorities may have inadvertently bolstered their point.

—Yasmeen Serhan






The royal family and friends in London on coronation day, May 6

at the head of her funeral procession, bearing his field marshal's baton, he seemed to grow in stature with each metronomic step. For most of his life, Charles was tortured by his father Prince Philip's underestimation of his gifts and the Queen's remote mothering. But in this critical moment of transition, it all fell away. On his face, you could see both the pain of losing his mother and the final shedding of his childhood's doubting burdens.

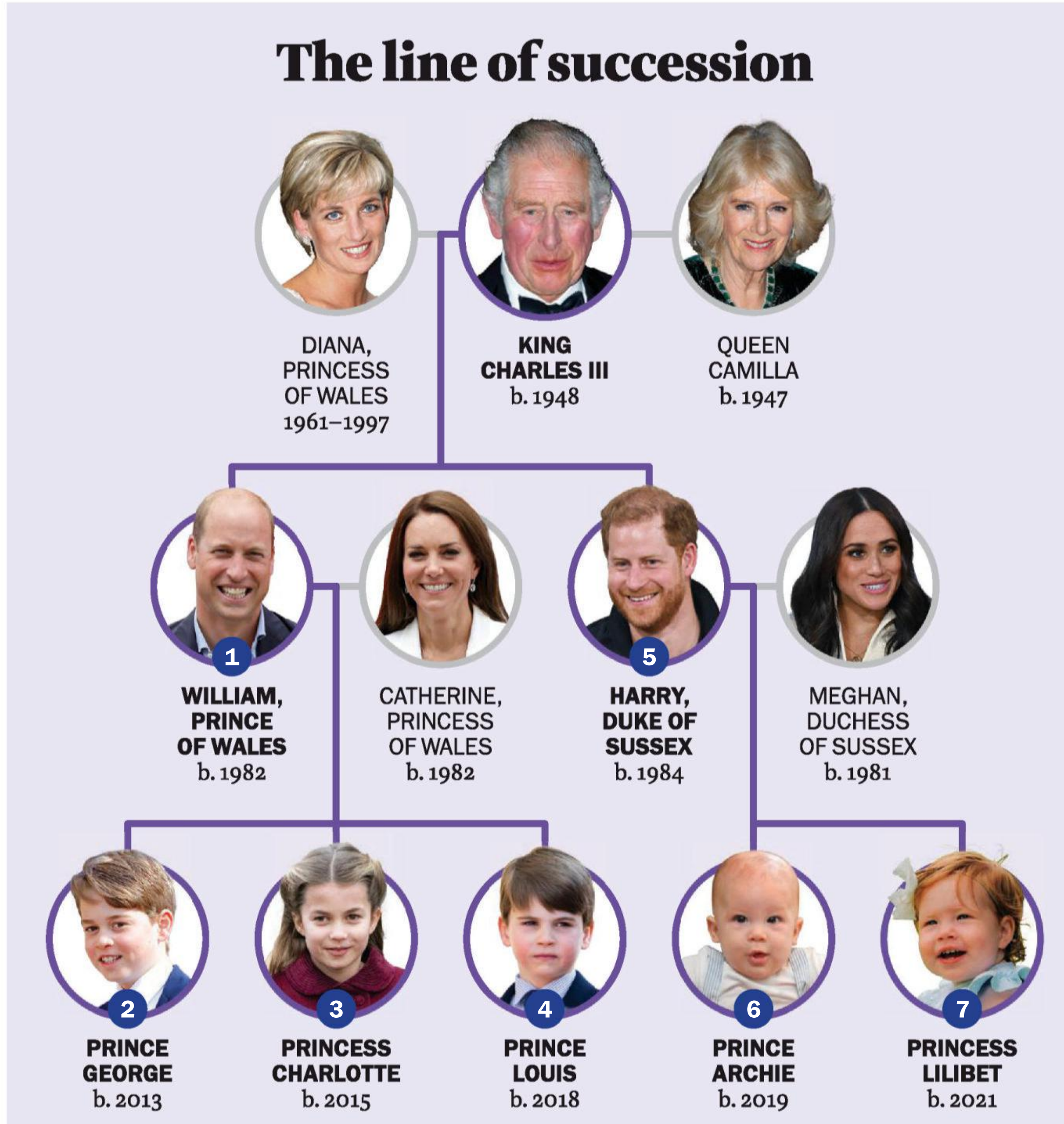
The benefit of his eternal wait is that Charles has become King at a moment that uniquely speaks to his concerns. For decades, he was mocked for his jeremiads about climate change and the despoilment of the English countryside. Now, as the world self-immolates and glaciers melt, even his most merciless critics acknowledge his prescience. His people know exactly who he is: Charles the Green, a woke grandpa with a complexion pinker by the minute, who drives an Aston Martin fueled by a bioethanol blend of cheese and English white wine by-products, and who assuaged his grief in the Queen's last hours by foraging for mushrooms in the Balmoral woods. At a time of divisiveness and volatility, it's a kingly image that quickly is reassuring.

Charles has defied every prediction of what would happen when a monarch as beloved as his mother dies. There has been no national identity crisis (certainly none attributable to him). No collapse in public appetite for a monarchy. No immediate repudiation—yet—by the sovereign Commonwealth realms. And no





CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: TOBY MELVILLE—AFP/GETTY IMAGES; RICHARD POHLE—GETTY IMAGES; YUI MOK—AP; MAX MUMBY—INDIGO/GETTY IMAGES



GETTY IMAGES (11); MISAN HARRIMAN/PRINCE HARRY AND MEGHAN, THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF SUSSEX

disregarding of constitutional red lines, as some expected, to sound off about his favored causes. Yes, then Prime Minister Liz Truss put the kibosh on his attendance at the November COP27 U.N. Climate Change Conference in Sharm el-Sheikh, Egypt, where he had planned to make a speech. But Charles immediately asserted the puissance of the Crown as a political convener. His Buckingham Palace reception for world leaders on the eve of COP turned out to be the most coveted power ticket of the week, all the more effective because it stood aloof from white-hot policy debate. It's easy to forget that after decades of dullsville Commonwealth tours and ceaseless face time with an encyclopedia of potentates, Charles is one of the best-wired diplomats in the world. His first state visit as King, to Germany in March where he tapped his Hanoverian roots to speak in fluent German, was hailed as a flawless post-Brexit charm-krieg.

The perception of Charles' progressive instincts has always been undermined by his fogy self-presentation. (He must have been the only Cambridge undergraduate to wear a suit and tie in the Summer of Love.) Some of his first acts as King have brought refreshing flair to the stodgy iconography of monarchy. The image of himself Charles selected for the nation's postage stamps to replace the crowned head of his mother is a simple one, bareheaded and unadorned. He chose Jony Ive, ex-Apple design whiz, to conceive a beautiful, optimistic coronation emblem with the four entwined flowers of the U.K. that reflects the King's concern for the planet, and he blessed the cool innovation of releasing digital twins of the coronation crowns using augmented reality—brainchild of Anthony Geffen, producer of the documentary *The Crown Jewels*—that were available on smartphones everywhere.

MORE SIGNIFICANTLY, Charles' decision to open the Windsor archives to aid independent research into the British monarchy's ties to slavery is nothing short of revolutionary for an institution that has usually battened down on the past. Some might see Charles' actions as a brilliant stroke of proactive public relations at a time when demands for colonial reparations are part of an ever rising tide of aggrievement, especially among the young. But in Charles' case, his earliest speeches show his desire for deep cultural re-examination comes from an authentic place. A spokesperson for Buckingham Palace on April 6 repeated his message to Commonwealth leaders in Rwanda last year: "I cannot describe



Prince William and Princess Catherine, with Princess Charlotte and Prince Louis, during the coronation ceremony

the depths of my personal sorrow at the suffering of so many, as I continue to deepen my own understanding of slavery's enduring impact." The King is said to be accepting—even relaxed—about his inevitable removal as head of state in the 14 remaining Commonwealth realms. Elizabeth II, after all, was a master at presiding gracefully over imperial retreat. But unlike his mother, Charles knows that the "deep sympathy" she expressed in her historic 2011 trip to Ireland would never be enough to expiate some of colonialism's worst sins.

The only serious migraines for Charles in the first months of his reign were caused by his own son. The Firm has contained the blast radius of explosions from Harry the human hand grenade by following Queen Elizabeth's tested playbook. When faced with tumult like the publication of his incendiary memoir *Spare* and the solipsistic whine of Meghan and Harry's Netflix documentary, the royal family has ramped up public appearances and done what they always do: say nothing, and smile, smile, smile. With a certain amount of backstage mirth, the palace released a statement expressing the King's disappointment that Meghan would be staying in Montecito, Calif., with his grandchildren. Harry nonetheless managed to grab the spotlight yet again when he galloped back on his steed in late March to appear in a London courtroom for the latest round in the tabloid phone-hacking cases. Revelations about what seemed to be covered-up complicity between his own family and the tabloids ensures that each brother is still ready to raise an army against the other.

And what of Queen Camilla? Palace insiders believe that her success is even more assured than the King's. Hers is one of the greatest image rehabs in modern history. In the 18 years since she married Charles, her performance has been so sure-footed that the woman reviled as an "old bag," "old trout," "prune," and "hatchet face" in the '90s by the tabloids for usurping the adored Princess Diana is now on her way—at least in the now uniformly glowing press coverage—to becoming a British national treasure, the Maggie Smith of the monarchy. Camilla's loyalty, humor, and humanity, her stoic commitment, like her late mother-in-law's, to "just getting on with it" has proved she understands the quintessential tenet of monarchy—how to play the long game.

His people know exactly who he is

Vivat Rex! At a time when everything seems to be bollixed up in Britain—sometimes spectacularly—tribal and atavistic beliefs in the monarchy, both mortal and majestic, somehow trundle on.

Brown is the author of The Palace Papers: Inside the House of Windsor

LEFT: YUI MOK—WPA POOL/GETTY IMAGES; RIGHT: CHRIS JACKSON—HANDOUT/BUCKINGHAM PALACE/GETTY IMAGES



King Charles III and Queen Camilla watch the ceremonial flypast of more than 60 military aircraft from Buckingham Palace

BEYOND BOLLYWOOD

Deepika Padukone, India's most popular actress, has a vision for what it means to be a truly global superstar

BY ASTHA RAJVANSHI/MUMBAI

PHOTOGRAPH BY NISHANTH RADHAKRISHNAN FOR TIME







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DEEPIKA PADUKONE NEVER SET OUT to take India to the world. She wanted the world to come to India. As the most popular actress in the world's most populous country, she's often asked if she's going to move to Hollywood. "My mission has always been to make a global impact while still being rooted in my country," she says on her home turf in Mumbai one humid morning in April, while on a break from shooting India's first aerial-action film, *Fighter*.

It's fitting that Padukone's photo shoot for this story is happening inside Mehboob Studios, home to some of the most legendary movies made in Hindi-language cinema, from the seminal Oscar-nominated *Mother India* in 1957 to Padukone's own *Chennai Express* in 2013.

The 37-year-old is now a legend in her own right. She has appeared in more than 30 films, won numerous awards, and generated nearly $350 million in global box-office revenues. Today, she is the highest-paid actress in India. Among her legions of fans and nearly 74 million followers on Instagram, Padukone is fondly called the Queen of Bollywood.

Padukone's 16-year career is an exception to the rule in Bollywood, the cutthroat Hindi-language film industry, known for prizing youth and continually looking for the next new thing. She suspects this has to do with India's growing influence in the world. "Indian cinema has transcended borders and Indians are everywhere, so the fame goes wherever you go," she says.

Smartphones, streaming services, and social media have helped find new audiences for India's century-old film industry, which tells about 1,500 stories a year on the screen. At the same time, Netflix and Amazon are also eager to create content that caters to a vast South Asian viewership of nearly 2 billion people around the world.

But they are not necessarily looking only at Bollywood. The recent success of Telugu-language films like *Bahubali* and *RRR* has forced the question of whether Bollywood can still dominate the Indian film industry (which comprises many regional languages). All the while, tensions simmer under the surface as a rightward-leaning Indian government monitors the stories India tells about itself on celluloid.

PADUKONE HAS BEEN at the crossroads of all these forces, but remains unfazed. After all, she grew up in the enterprising city of Bangalore—known as the Silicon Valley of India, and now called Bengaluru—at a time when India was undergoing economic liberalization. Vijay Subramaniam, Padukone's manager, says she represents the "typical Bangalore girl"—someone with the world at their fingertips. In Padukone, we see a quiet trailblazer who makes her own rules, all the while embodying the feminine ideal that Bollywood wants to romance. She has emerged from the hopes and dreams of modern Indian women: someone with the utmost freedom to choose how she lives, works, and rests.

'THIS IS INDIA'S MOMENT. SO HOW CAN I MARRY THE BEST OF THE EAST AND THE WEST?'

Earlier this year, she charmed audiences at the 95th Academy Awards by introducing "Naatu Naatu," the Oscar winner for Best Original Song from the movie *RRR*, as a "total banger"; she served on the exclusive jury for the 75th Cannes Film Festival; and she became the first Indian brand ambassador for Louis Vuitton and Cartier. She regularly makes fashion waves during her appearances at global events like the Met Gala and red carpets.

At the shoot, Padukone arrives early, sending the production crew into a frenzy. She's surrounded by four bodyguards, two agents, two personal photographers, a stylist, makeup and hair artists, and a few more assistants. She poses effortlessly in front of the camera while her personally curated playlist blasts in the background, before her husband—the larger-than-life Bollywood actor Ranveer Singh—stops by the studio to surprise her. He's interrupting her while she's at work, but she giggles as the two hold hands for a brief moment.

We head to the Taj Lands End hotel after the shoot, where we enter through a special entrance roped off for Padukone. She wants to gaze at the Arabian Sea while we talk, but the apologetic hotel staff informs her that our private room is on the other side, overlooking a construction site. She's OK with





Padukone in, from left, Om Shanti Om, Pathaan, *and* Padmaavat

EVERETT COLLECTION (3)

that, she tells them with a smile, and promptly asks her entourage to leave.

Right now, her life is a lot. Sitting cross-legged on a couch, she contemplates her success. "I didn't have a game plan for how to get here, but I didn't see failure on my vision board," she says.

While she feels fulfilled, she's also trying to figure out what's next. "This is India's moment," she says. "So how can I marry the best of the East and the West?"

TWENTY-ONE-YEAR-OLD PADUKONE parades down a red carpet in slow motion in a wistful romantic sequence. She's wearing a magenta *lehenga-choli,* a slick bombshell bun, and full-winged eyeliner drawn to precision with killer dimples to match. It's her first Hindi film, *Om Shanti Om,* a campy, madcap spoof of '70s Bollywood, and Padukone has been cast alongside Shah Rukh Khan, one of the biggest superstars in the world. Nevertheless, she manages to hold her own.

Khan, who co-produced the film, concedes that when he first met Padukone, he wasn't sure if she could pull off the role. Still, there was a sense that she was on the verge of becoming a star. "Everybody knew it," he says. *Om Shanti Om* broke box-office records, and the two have gone on to star in three more films together. In January, they appeared in the spy thriller *Pathaan,* which quickly became one of the highest-grossing Hindi films of all time, earning $100 million globally. Another collaboration, *Jawan,* is in the pipeline for release later this year. For Khan, working with Padukone is like "working with family."

Padukone might have been propelled into the limelight after *Om Shanti Om,* but she did not have a smooth ride. She was a complete outsider in Bollywood, where simmering tensions over nepotism finally exploded during the pandemic, fueling a reckoning with the advantages afforded to children of actors, producers, and directors who make it in the industry with ease.

Meanwhile, Padukone didn't grow up thinking she would even become an actor. She was born in Denmark to Ujjala Padukone, a travel agent, and Prakash Padukone, a world-champion badminton player widely credited with putting India on the map in the sport. She played badminton herself on a national level, before leaving home at 16 to pursue modeling on the runways of Mumbai. "From my story so far, there's nothing that indicates that I would have anything to do with the movies," she says. "The weird thing is that the few times a year my family watched a movie, I felt a connection. Like that's where I'm going to be one day."

Where her debut film lent security and protection—precisely because of its star power—what followed next was a period of mistakes. Her choices were questioned after her next few movies struggled at the box office, and critics saw her acting as mediocre at best. Padukone is quick to accept the criticism, but also points out that "in those years is this girl who was touted as the next big thing, but actually, she was only just figuring her way out."

Anupama Chopra, a renowned Hindi film critic, says she began seeing an evolution in Padukone's acting with films like *Cocktail* (2012), *Chennai Express* (2013), and *Goliyon Ki Raasleela Ram Leela* (2013). It culminated with *Piku* (2015), perhaps her most memorable film, an unconventional comedy heavy on bathroom humor. "You sort of took a step back and thought, Oh my god, when did this happen?" says Chopra. "She showed the world that it didn't matter how pretty you were or how many brands you represented, it was all about what you did in front of that camera."

In 2017, she dipped her toes into Hollywood, starring alongside Vin Diesel in *xXx: Return of Xander Cage,* an experience that allowed her to push different boundaries. "We speak in English all the time, but to act in English for the first time was so weird," she reflects.

But her bankability as a star has also

been met with fierce opposition, after the conservative Hindu-nationalist turn in Indian politics in the past decade. It first spiked in 2016, when she starred in *Padmaavat,* a maximalist period drama about a Hindu queen who becomes the object of infatuation of the Muslim Sultan of Delhi. Rumors of a love scene between the two characters drove Hindu vigilantes to light the film set on fire, while an official from the ruling Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) offered a bounty of $1.5 million for Padukone's beheading, horrifying spectators. The local police detained the official.

In 2020, Padukone was spotted standing silently at a student protest against an anti-Muslim citizenship law at New Delhi's Jawaharlal Nehru University. Bollywood stars don't traditionally speak up or protest, so what Padukone did was a rare—and risky—example of a public figure calling out the Indian government, led by Prime Minister Narendra Modi.

And in January came the "saffron" bikini attack over *Pathaan*—when a Hindu-nationalist minister objected to Padukone's wearing an orange-colored bikini in a musical sequence. (Orange is considered a sacred color in Hinduism and has been adopted as a symbol for Hindu nationalists.) But Padukone is relieved to say she was genuinely missing in action when the controversy exploded days before the film's release—she was simply busy at work.

Padukone has remained studiously silent about these controversies, which haven't deterred her from taking up any roles—including the role of a Pakistani spy in *Pathaan.* A long pause follows when she is asked about the constant political backlash. Padukone then says, carefully, "I don't know if I'm supposed to feel something about it. But the truth is, I don't feel anything about it."

India may be living in a "polarized cultural climate," says Chopra, but Bollywood's real crisis is one of storytelling and content. "Bollywood has lost its place," says the critic. "It's a crisis of making better Hindi cinema that connects with the rest of the country," she continues, nodding to the perception that South Indian movies have, of late, better captured the zeitgeist than those being made in Mumbai.

Last year, Padukone served on the eight-member jury of the 75th Cannes Film Festival, tasked with announcing the winner of the coveted Palme d'Or award. Part of her job entailed "educating everyone around me that Indian movies are more than just song and dance," she says.

But the opportunity equally made Padukone reflect on Bollywood's place in the world. She spent the two weeks in Cannes wondering why more Indian films weren't being showcased on a global stage. "I would say that Hindi cinema has evolved, but we still have a long way to go," she says. "Why haven't we had a better moment?"

Until last year, no Indian film had won an Oscar, despite the Indian film industry's entertaining billions of people. Only three Indian films have been nominated for Best International Feature Film. Now, with the recognition of more diverse content, Padukone says India itself is beginning to realize that its movies are not just limited to Hindi films.

"But I don't think we should be happy with one Oscar for a song and one Oscar for a documentary," she says. "I hope we can look at this as the beginning of an opportunity."



WITH GLOBAL SUPERSTARDOM at her doorstep, Padukone is aware of the importance of not losing sight of herself along the way. She is eager to be as authentic as possible—which has also meant being honest with herself, and the world, about her personal challenges.

In 2015, she became one of the few public personalities from India to come out publicly about her struggle with depression. It surprised everyone around her, especially since she was at the peak of her career, having delivered three hits in a single year. In a country where the stigma around mental health hangs heavy and resources for treatment remain scarce, the admission had every potential to end her career. "But when I spoke about it, it just felt extremely liberating," she says.

'I WOULD SAY THAT HINDI CINEMA HAS EVOLVED, BUT WE STILL HAVE A LONG WAY TO GO.'

Padukone founded the Live Love Laugh foundation, now headed by her sister, which works with local communities to create awareness and access to mental-health resources. This year, she also launched her own cosmetics brand, 82°E, with the goal to talk about self-care more broadly.

Her actions have opened up conversations about mental health across India, where an estimated 56 million people suffer from depression. "A lot of other celebrities have spoken about [mental health] since then, but more importantly, a lot of noncelebrities have



Padukone at the Cannes Film Festival closing ceremony in 2022

PATRICIA DE MELO MOREIRA—AFP/GETTY IMAGES

also spoken about it," says Anisha, her sister. "This is an illness that doesn't discriminate."

Padukone is grateful for the support she has received over the years while laying bare her anxieties—especially from her fans. "The beautiful part is that millions of them will probably never meet me, but they're still on the journey of life with me," she says. "They understand my body language, my expressions, my silences."

At the same time, her drive for authenticity has made her conscious of not changing in the eyes of those closest to her. "I will also give myself a little bit of credit that for whatever reason, I've been able to keep myself grounded," she says.

And then there's her husband Singh, who ripples through Bollywood wearing quirky outfits in public, playing pranks on his co-stars, occasionally posing nude for a shoot—and always making Padukone laugh. The two have just returned from a holiday in Bhutan, where they spent their days doing what Padukone enjoys most: going on walks, sightseeing, and eating. With him, she is her "most vulnerable self," she says.

Not long ago, Bollywood actresses came with a shelf life that expired as soon as they got married or had children. But that's changed, Padukone insists. "I've never had that experience because [Singh] has always put me, my dreams, and my ambitions first."

PADUKONE MARRIED SINGH in a private celebration in Lake Como, Italy, in 2018. The couple held two intricate Hindu ceremonies—a Konkani ceremony nodding to Padukone's South Indian roots, and a Sikh ceremony that honored Singh's North Indian traditions.

The wedding may have been small, but its glamour quotient was high. Padukone tapped India's most famous designer, Sabyasachi Mukherjee, to dress the couple. Being a Sabyasachi bride was a savvy move for a fashion icon like Padukone—even today, the power couple's nuptials remain one of the most double-tapped posts on Instagram, inspiring the wedding aesthetics of Indian couples who form a $50 billion-strong wedding market.

The payoff for dominating Instagram, as Padukone has time and again, is enormous, both for her and the companies that hire her. BoF reported the Bollywood star accounted for seven of Louis Vuitton's top 10 Instagram posts, generating more than 25% of the brand's $20.2 million in media impact value during the Cannes Film Festival, according to data analytics and marketing agency Launchmetrics. A single Instagram post of Padukone in a floor-sweeping red Louis Vuitton gown garnered more than 2 million likes and generated more than a million dollars in media impact value.

The endorsements go on and on—Levi's, Adidas, Cartier, Pottery Barn, Qatar Airways, L'Oreal, and Tissot—brands that see Padukone as their gateway to a growing Indian market that was previously thwarted by bureaucracy. In April, Dior hosted its first official show in the country, near the Taj Mahal Palace Hotel. But beyond weddings and luxury clothing brands, India—the world's most populous nation with 1.4 billion people—will soon become the world's third largest apparel and footwear market, predicted to be worth more than $83 billion by 2025, according to data from Euromonitor.

If brands want to capitalize on a "new India," which Padukone calls simply "an emotion," she knows that stardom has placed her at its fulcrum. "There's the India with our roots, our heritage, our history, but there's also a new and young India that's emerging."

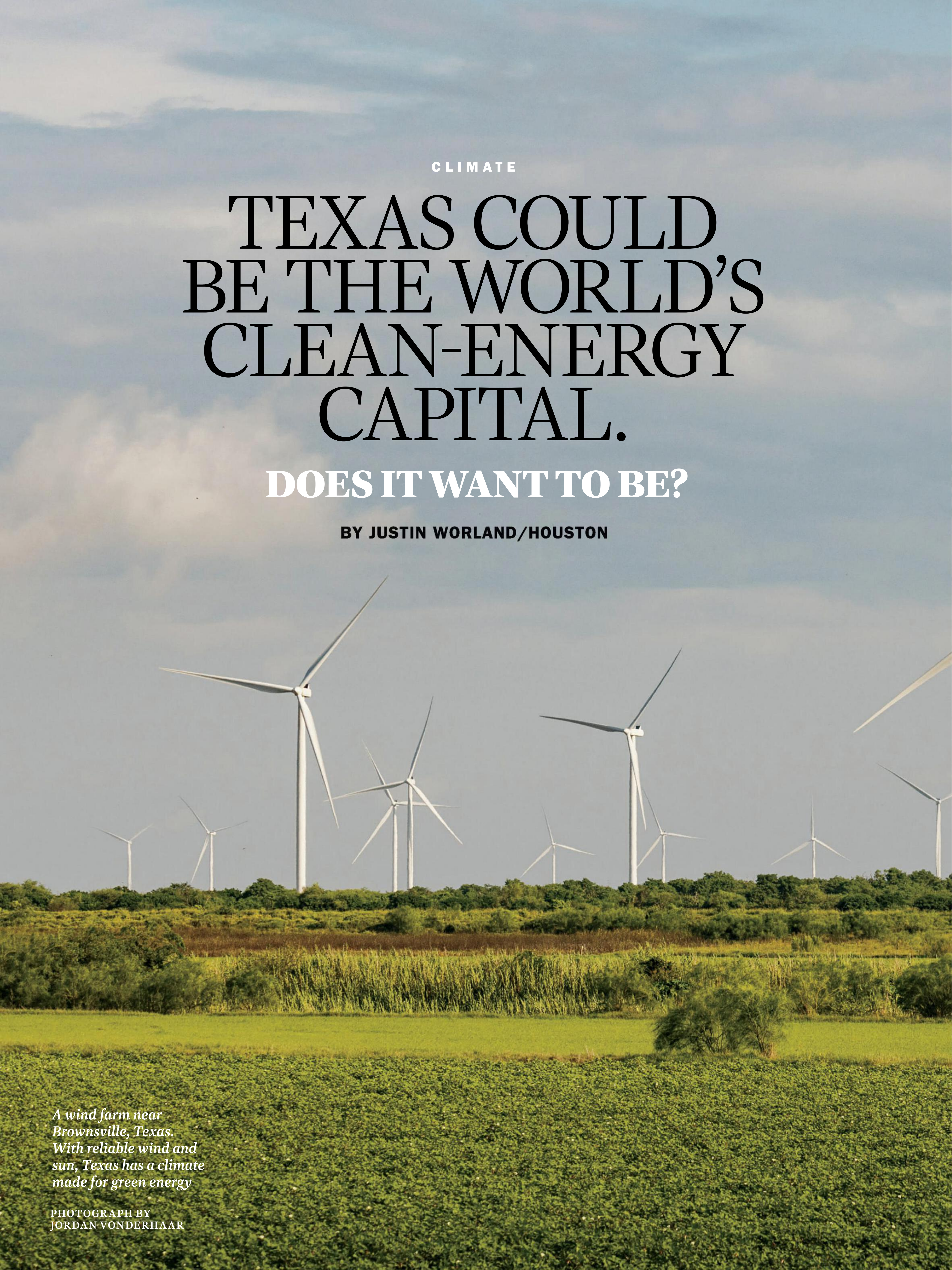
It's almost time to go. In a few minutes, she will slip out the special exit with her bodyguards. "It's these two Indias coming together," she says, "that I find really fascinating at this moment." ◻

CLIMATE

TEXAS COULD BE THE WORLD'S CLEAN-ENERGY CAPITAL.

DOES IT WANT TO BE?

BY JUSTIN WORLAND/HOUSTON



A wind farm near Brownsville, Texas. With reliable wind and sun, Texas has a climate made for green energy

PHOTOGRAPH BY JORDAN VONDERHAAR



BOBBY TUDOR MADE A FORTUNE IN FRACKING. THE CLEAN-CUT financier opened shop in 2007 and spent the next 10 years backing large-scale projects in West Texas, supercharging one of history's greatest oil and gas expansions. But over lunch in February, even as he predicted that oil and gas would be around for the foreseeable future, Tudor offered a dimmer view of the industry's role in the region. "Oil and gas is just not going to be the same engine for growth," he told me. "It will flatten, and then it will decline."

Which is why Tudor, a consummate Texas fossil-fuel money man, is betting big on green energy.

It's not hard to see why. The state is already the largest producer of renewable energy in the U.S. Clean-technology startups are flocking to the Houston region, and big energy companies are pursuing hydrogen projects across the state. The city of Houston alone could receive as much as $250 billion in annual investment in the emerging energy sectors by 2040, according to data from McKinsey, thanks in part to its existing infrastructure and skilled labor force. Tudor has started a new firm focused on cutting emissions, and is chairing a powerful business coalition dedicated to the transition and composed of some of the biggest names in energy, including ExxonMobil, Chevron, and Shell. "In Houston, when we see $1 laying on the ground," he said, "we bend over and pick it up."

There's just one problem: politics. While many cities, states, and even countries are fighting for the trillions of dollars in public and private green investments that are transforming the energy industry, many Texas leaders, including a powerful segment of the state's political leadership, are opposing the new opportunities. Some fear that clean energy will hurt the state's incumbent fossil-fuel business. But many oppose the energy transition as a proxy for opposing Democrats, another way to prove to the conservative base that they are the reddest around. The result is a raft of measures that could hamper green-energy projects and incentivize carbon-heavy ones.

These divisions are setting up a surprising, high-stakes fight. Tudor's coalition, the Houston Energy Transition Initiative (HETI), is organized by the city's most prominent business group, and its members are putting serious cash behind new energy efforts. But some politicians are pushing back, launching efforts to slow renewable energy and publicly vilifying environment initiatives. "[Major oil and gas firms] may have supported us in the past, but they certainly don't align with us now," says Jason Isaac of the conservative Texas Public Policy Foundation. "They're going to go and chase money—and it's unfortunate."

The fight in Texas can tell us a lot about the bigger push to address climate change. A well-executed transition would help cut global emissions, create wealth and opportunity for millions of Texans, and set an example for the world. But the unfolding debate also shows why it's not so simple. Politics and culture are powerful forces everywhere, and despite mounds of evidence about the value of transition, it's unclear whether long-term economic considerations will win out. We all have an interest in the outcome. "We need to do it for commercial reasons," says Tudor, but "we have a responsibility to do it too. The challenges of climate change, and the energy transition broadly, are so enormous that they're not going to be solved without us."

ON THE NEWS and in popular culture, Texas can seem like a MAGA fever dream as politicians race to pass antiabortion laws and grandstand about critical race theory. But the business community driving the state's economy gives a different impression. Chatting at a sleek Italian restaurant in Houston's eclectic Montrose neighborhood, Tudor sounds more patrician than partisan. We talk about oil prices, yes, but also about Houston's diversity and civic life, and the divergence between energy-industry financial returns and the region's economic development. It's an old-school vision of companies as pillars of the community that Tudor and many of his fellow executives share, one where business and government are partners in the greater good.

It's a reading rooted in history. Before the 20th century, Texas was a largely rural, agrarian state; the discovery of vast oil reserves in 1901 changed that almost overnight. Within a matter of years, the oil industry expanded rapidly and so did the state's urban centers. Whether by necessity or ideology, the government has largely stayed out of the way of the private companies that drove rapid growth and economic prosperity.

That has left Texas well positioned to capitalize on the energy transition. Building big infrastructure projects in Texas is easy thanks to a light regulatory environment. Much of the existing infrastructure—think pipelines—can be converted to carry carbon dioxide or hydrogen. The state has the highest concentration of chemical engineers in the country, jobs well suited not just for oil and gas but also for new energy technologies. And the local higher-education system, funded in large part by industry, has top programs to continue churning out energy workers.

But it's hard for a transition to catch on when there's so much money to be made in petroleum. At times over the course of the past 50 years, oil and gas has constituted 15% of the state's economic output, according to data from the Federal Reserve Bank of Dallas, and the state's broader economy in turn oriented toward fossil fuels as well. The industry's prospects have whipsawed lately. The sector already had been underperforming the rest of the stock market in the years before COVID-19 hit. As energy demand tanked worldwide amid the lockdown, the price of oil briefly went negative, sending shock waves throughout the industry.

This unprecedented upheaval coincided with the beginning of Tudor's campaign to get the industry to embrace the transition. An energy price spike driven by the Russian invasion of Ukraine and COVID-19 reopenings has led to dramatic profits for the industry and softened the short-term financial urgency of embracing the transition.

But the immense volume of capital flowing into clean energy, especially as a result of the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), has sparked newfound resolve in the local business community to go green. "The IRA was a turning point," says Greg Matlock, who leads EY's Americas Energy Transition practice. "We were on the phone with clients, and within a week you could see tangible movement on transactions. It was quick and it was palpable."

In Houston, it's easy to see this on the ground. The downtown skyscrapers are full of incumbent oil companies, but a couple of miles away, in what city officials are calling the Innovation District, a new energy ecosystem is taking shape. I visited

TEXAS' COMPLEX GREEN TRANSITION

$250 BILLION
POTENTIAL ANNUAL INVESTMENT BY 2040 IN HOUSTON'S ENERGY TRANSITION

10
NUMBER OF FINANCIAL FIRMS BARRED FROM DOING BUSINESS WITH TEXAS BECAUSE OF THEIR ESG POLICIES

1
TEXAS' CURRENT RANK AMONG U.S. STATES IN RENEWABLE-ENERGY PRODUCTION

15%
PEAK SHARE OF TEXAS ECONOMIC OUTPUT FROM OIL AND GAS IN THE PAST 50 YEARS

$100 BILLION
POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTION OF HYDROGEN PROJECTS TO TEXAS' GDP

the office of Ara Partners, a private-equity shop with a self-proclaimed "industrial decarbonization strategy" that sees profits in helping companies cut their carbon footprint.

"Houston was the right place because the world of made things is made here," says Troy Thacker, the firm's CEO. Across the street, I visited Greentown Labs, an incubator where dozens of startups are working on everything from installing wind turbines more efficiently to turning cow manure into an alternative fuel source. Houston startups alone received $1.95 billion in venture-capital money in 2022, with energy-related startups raising almost as much as the next three sectors combined, according to data from the Greater Houston Partnership.

Across the state, investments from new and incumbent players aim to make Texas a world leader in green hydrogen, a clean way to store renewable energy. In Matagorda County, south of Houston, a company known as Highly Innovative Fuels, funded in part by old-school energy players like Baker Hughes, is building a massive facility that will use renewable electricity, green hydrogen, and technology that captures carbon dioxide. A venture-capital-backed energy company named Humble Midstream is building a hydrogen-export facility. McKinsey estimates the hydrogen economy alone could be worth $100 billion to the state's economy.





Texas Governor Greg Abbott, above, at a February 2022 campaign event; Bobby Tudor speaks in Houston in March 2023

IN AUSTIN, I WATCHED Jane Stricker, the executive director of HETI, present a vision of Texas as a capital of the energy transition to a gathering of lobbyists, regulators, and legislators. Her pitch: policymakers should join with business leaders to speed the shift. "We can solidify our position if we really lean into our role," said Stricker, a former BP executive. "We have the opportunity to create massive economic growth."

But for all of Texas' business-friendly swagger, not everyone views a public-private green collaboration as a good thing. Responding to Stricker at the energy gathering, a Texas energy-industry insider questioned whether the state's businesses were actually on board, then challenged the entire premise. "Can you articulate: transition from what to what?" he asked. In the discussions that followed, academics, elected officials, and business leaders laid out a range of positions. A renewable-energy lobbyist decried GOP attempts to stomp out his industry. A state regulator laughed off a question about using funds from President Biden's infrastructure law.

Business leaders try to play down the political opposition they face, arguing that ultimately lawmakers won't turn down easy money. But while there are mixed opinions in Texas' GOP, today opposition to clean energy and climate policy is defying the state's business-friendly reputation and threatening to slow the transition in Texas.

Nowhere is that opposition clearer than in state government offices in Austin. The state legislature is crafting policies to stymie renewable energy. One bill would create new permitting requirements just for renewable-energy projects, requiring plant developers to evaluate the impacts on wildlife. Fossil-fuel power plants would be exempt. Other measures would provide those plants new state subsidies. "There definitely is a contingent that's looking to push up natural gas by pulling renewables down," says Daniel Cohan, an associate professor of civil and environmental engineering at Rice University.

And then there's the anti-ESG rhetoric, a new front in the culture wars. Texas has banned a group of financial firms from doing business with state and local governments for using environmental, social, and governance metrics. These moves send a signal that green businesses aren't welcome. "It could go faster if the state political forces were less antagonistic," says Kay McCall, president of the Renewable Energy Alliance Houston. "When you look at it, it's almost silly."

As a fly on the wall in startup conference rooms in Houston and Austin, I got a sense of the mood: outraged, but optimistic that economics will prevail over politics. Texas will realize some of its potential because of the direction of the market and the allure of tax incentives. The state's pro-business roots, skilled workforce, and abundant natural resources have set it up to do big things in the energy transition.

But the outcome is not preordained. State politicians seem determined to limit green opportunities that big energy companies are eager to pursue. Even if they can overcome the political hurdles, activists worry that a business-led approach to the energy transition may not be the best for the world, as companies don't want to give up profits to be made in oil and gas. Which means Texas may end up less green, and less prosperous, than it could be. ◻

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WORLD



Prime Minister Kishida at his official residence in Tokyo on April 28

Facing Ghosts

PRIME MINISTER FUMIO KISHIDA IS GIVING JAPAN A MORE ASSERTIVE ROLE ON THE GLOBAL STAGE BY CHARLIE CAMPBELL/TOKYO

PHOTOGRAPH BY KO TSUCHIYA FOR TIME







The official residence of Japan's Prime Minister is a spooky place. Inspired by American architect Frank Lloyd Wright, the stone and brick mansion in central

Tokyo had been around for only three years when young naval officers charged in and assassinated Prime Minister Tsuyoshi Inukai in 1932. Four years later, Prime Minister Keisuke Okada was forced to hide in a closet during another attempted coup d'état, which killed five and left bullet holes that still pepper the building's Art Deco facade.

The bad energy became transpacific when, in 1992, U.S. President George H.W. Bush became ill during a banquet here, vomiting onto the lap of Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa before passing out. Despite a reported exorcism by Shinto priests, an association with malevolent spirits was sealed, and the residence went unoccupied for nine years until Prime Minister Fumio Kishida moved in soon after taking power in October 2021.

"I have been warned by my predecessors that you will encounter ghosts in this building," Kishida, 65, tells TIME in an exclusive interview inside the red-carpeted residence, gazing around at the expressionist wall motifs, which include at least one rather menacing concrete gargoyle. "Of course, it is an old building, so I hear sounds from time to time. But fortunately, I have yet to encounter a ghost."

Kishida is preoccupied by more earthly issues. In Japan, he has launched a "new model of capitalism" to grow the middle class through redistributive policies. Overseas, he has set about revolutionizing the East Asian nation's foreign relations: soothing historical grievances with South Korea, strengthening security alliances with the U.S. and others, and boosting defense spending by over 50%. Buoyed by a White House eager for influential partners to check China's growing clout, Kishida has set about turning the world's No. 3 economy back into a global power with a military presence to match.

But that's not to say Kishida is untroubled by ghosts. His family hails from Japan's southern city of Hiroshima, which he still represents as a lawmaker, and he lost several relatives to the atomic bomb dropped by the U.S. in 1945. His earliest memories include sitting on his grandmother's knee in the beleaguered city and hearing horrific tales of local suffering. "The unspeakable devastation experienced by Hiroshima and its people was inscribed vividly in my memory," he says. "This childhood experience has been a major driver of my pursuit ... of a world without nuclear weapons."

It's to Hiroshima that Kishida welcomes leaders of the G-7 from May 19 to 21, when he'll hope to leverage the city's tragic history to convince the world's most powerful democracies that only collective resolve can face down the authoritarian threat of an increasingly belligerent Russia, China, and North Korea. Tokyo may be 5,000 miles from Kyiv, but the war in Ukraine has alerted Japan to a more perilous world, not least since Japan remains entangled in land and sea territorial disputes with Russia, and regularly sees North Korean ballistic missiles flying overhead. Even more worrisome for Japan has been China's aggression against Taiwan, the self-ruling island that authoritarian President Xi Jinping has repeatedly vowed to bring to heel. When Beijing launched military drills last summer to protest U.S. House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's visit to Taipei, five missiles fell into the waters of Japan's Exclusive Economic Zone, through which Chinese naval vessels and aircraft regularly intrude.

Against this backdrop, Kishida in December unveiled Japan's biggest military buildup since World War II, mirroring upticks in defense spending across Europe, including Germany, which like Japan was humbled by that war. The commitment would raise defense spending to 2% of GDP by 2027, giving Japan the world's third largest defense budget. And while previous Japanese leaders dithered over imposing international sanctions, Kishida has joined U.S.-led measures with alacrity.

It's a transformation that had long been touted by Japan's former Prime Minister Shinzo Abe, who belonged to the same right-leaning Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) and was assassinated during a campaign stop in July. But while Abe's hawkish reputation was divisive, Kishida's dovish persona has enabled him to enact security reform without significant pushback.

Still, Japan's martial resurgence isn't without controversy. The nation has a pacifist constitution, and critics say its military buildup pours fuel on an already combustive regional security picture. And given that China is Japan's top trading partner, it's unclear how Kishida can fund an ambitious domestic agenda while turning the screws on America's superpower rival, which has proved all too willing to mete out economic retribution. More fundamentally, some believe that Japan's rearmament chafes with Kishida's long-standing pledges to work toward a nuclear-free world. The Prime Minister, for his part, says his only goal is to prevent tragedies like Hiroshima unfolding once again: "Today's Ukraine could be tomorrow's East Asia."

KISHIDA'S TENURE has already encountered drama that belies his

CLOCKWISE FROM TOP LEFT: KIYOSHI OTA—POOL/AFP/GETTY IMAGES; THE YOMIURI SHIMBUN/AP (2); SERGEI CHUZAVKOV—AFP/GETTY IMAGES









Clockwise from top left: Kishida inspects military equipment; G-7 preparations; police restrain a man who tried to attack Kishida; a visit to Bucha, Ukraine, in March

reputation as a bland functionary. On April 15, Kishida narrowly avoided joining the ghosts stalking the Prime Minister's residence when a homemade pipe bomb was hurled at him during a campaign speech, injuring a policeman. "I am living in the world of politics," he shrugs when asked about the incident. "All sorts of events and developments could happen."

When he took office 18 months ago, he was thought of as a steady but uninspiring politician, unscarred by scandal but lacking major accomplishments. His father and grandfather were both lawmakers, and he spent part of his childhood in the U.S., attending a public school in Queens. Classes were filled with children of myriad cultural and linguistic backgrounds, and Kishida says he found communication "very challenging." But because of this, "I was reminded of the importance of listening carefully to the views of others," he says. "As a child, I was inspired by what makes America the United States, which is respect for freedom and an abundance of energy."

Kishida was an average student, failing his law school entrance exam three times. After cutting his teeth in banking, Kishida entered politics in 1993. He rose to various cabinet posts and was appointed Minister for Foreign Affairs in 2012, serving in the position for five years, a Japanese record. He forged a reputation as a consensus builder, coordinating policy in back rooms by deliberating with various factions. Aides say Kishida takes advice, but once his mind is made up, he doesn't waver.

As Prime Minister, he's proved himself a prodigious worker. Kishida has made a dizzying 16 overseas trips since taking office. The day after he sat down with TIME inside his official residence's vaulted Great Hall, he departed for a four-nation tour of Africa. Aides say he's barely managed to take any time for himself. "After the [parliamentary] session is over, if some time remains, I hope I will be able to play some golf," he says with a grin.

But it has not all been smooth on the domestic front. Kishida's approval ratings plummeted following a backlash to his decision to hold a state funeral for Abe, over both the expense and Abe's polarizing character. Late last year, Kishida fired four cabinet ministers in two months over a variety of scandals. In February, he dismissed a close aide for saying "quite a few people would abandon this country" if same-sex marriage were legalized, despite a majority of the population's supporting it. In response, Kishida tells TIME that he is committed to "realizing a society where diversity is respected." Kishida's approval rating has since picked up, and his LDP won key seats in local elections in April.

"He may not be an inspiring leader," says Jeff Kingston, director of Asian studies at Tokyo's Temple University. "But he has proven to be fairly effective in terms of promoting his agenda."

It's an ambitious one. Japan has the world's second most educated population and boasts its longest life expectancy, lowest murder rate, little unemployment, and unusually smooth political transitions. But it also has one of the world's lowest birth rates, stagnated growth, and a severely aging population. In the late 1980s, Japanese people earned more than Americans. Now they earn 40% less on average. Kishida's mission is to drag Japan back up. He has embarked on a sweeping modernization drive, recently greenlighting the nation's first casino as well as a dedicated autonomous driving lane for the Shin-Tomei Expressway, a key logistics artery.

Kishida's domestic agenda rests on a nebulous "income-doubling plan" to boost household earnings, but his big problem is how to pay for redistribution without alienating the affluent. Japan's ratio of public debt to GDP stands at 256%—over double that of the U.S.—and Kishida has little wiggle room to keep borrowing. When he floated the idea of raising taxes on stock transfers and dividends, Japan's bourses tanked. "Mr. Kishida has to be pretty careful to keep key right-wing support," says Mieko Nakabayashi, a professor at Tokyo's Waseda University and a former Japanese lawmaker.

Kishida also wants to get more women and seniors into gainful employment. Japan ranked 116th among

146 countries—the lowest of developed economies—in the World Economic Forum's 2022 gender-gap report. But while Kishida's government has set targets to reach 30% female executives at big firms by 2030, "I don't think it has clearly stated what kind of action plan it will actually take to achieve the goal," says Makiko Ono, CEO of Suntory Beverages & Food, Japan's most valuable company with a female boss.

Ultimately, Japan remains over 30% less productive than the U.S. Kishida has charged Japan's Digital Agency to cut red tape and boost efficiency. Digital Minister Taro Kono tells TIME that he's discovered 9,000 government regulations that still require handling via antiquated technology, such as faxes, floppy disks, and the *hanko*—an iconic carved stamp that is obligatory for many official documents.

But Kono has only 800 officials to serve Japan's population of 125 million, complaining that his agency is "desperately understaffed." It's a monumental challenge; embracing the Fourth Industrial Revolution is crucial for developed societies everywhere, though perhaps none more so than Japan, whose shrinking, aging population has "no precedent in the world," says Kishida. "This is a matter of survival."

IT'S A DIFFERENT KIND of existential threat that will occupy the G-7 in Hiroshima, where posters promoting the summit adorn billboards and vending machines across the city, with countdown clocks inside the cavernous main railway station. Denied a seat on the U.N. Security Council, Japan has always placed great emphasis on the economic grouping, where it is the only Asian member. Close aides to Kishida say that welcoming the G-7 to his home city will be the realization of "a lifelong dream." Not only is it Kishida's best chance to catapult Japan to true global leadership, Nakabayashi says he also may use any bounce in domestic approval as a platform to dissolve parliament and seek a fresh mandate.

In January, Kishida made whistle-stop visits to member states Britain, France, Italy, Canada, and the U.S. to drum up support for his agenda. He also invited Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi and South Korean President Yoon Suk-yeol to attend as observers. The stakes are high. "Given the very sketchy situation in the international order, with Ukraine and Taiwan figuring prominently, the G-7 must step up or risk becoming irrelevant," says Kingston.

But not all agree with the G-7's combative posture. Setsuko Thurlow remembers Aug. 6, 1945, clearly. She was just 13 when she was recruited to help decipher intercepted Allied communications as part of Japan's World War II efforts. At 8:15 a.m., she glimpsed a bluish-white flash through the window of the wooden building that served as the military headquarters in what today is Hiroshima's Higashi suburb. The bomb detonated at a temperature of 7,700°C just over a mile away.

"I had the sensation of flying up and floating in the air," she says. After she crawled out from beneath the charred timber, "I started seeing moving figures like people, but not really human beings," recalls Thurlow, 91, who accepted a Nobel Peace Prize in 2017 on behalf of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons. "They looked like ghosts."

'Today's Ukraine could be tomorrow's East Asia.'

The bombings of Hiroshima and, three days later, Nagasaki claimed some 170,000 lives. Japan's more aggressive military posture under Kishida makes Thurlow "alarmed," she says. "[Kishida] said his top priority was to work toward a world free of nuclear weapons. But right now, I realize he was deceiving us."

Kishida tells TIME he's committed to global denuclearization and his government "will not discuss nuclear armament." And no doubt G-7 attendees will have poignant tours of Hiroshima's Peace Museum and A-Bomb Dome, which was one of the few buildings left standing after the blast, remaining today a rubble-strewn shell of broken bricks and twisted iron girders, rimmed by a neat hedge of flowering azalea.

Kishida draws a straight line between Hiroshima and the stricken Ukrainian city of Bucha, which he visited in March, speaking of "great anger at the atrocity" in a departure from his trademark equanimity. He wants the G-7 to know the true horror lurking within Vladimir Putin's repeated threats of nuclear war, which "came as a huge shock to me," he says.

Still, it would be disingenuous to pretend that Russia is Kishida's sole focus. His intention is also to convey that, just as Ukraine is Asia's problem, Taiwan is Europe's—rebutting the sentiments of French President Emmanuel Macron, who when asked about Taiwan in April said that Europe must not get "caught up in crises that are not ours." For Kishida, "Russian aggression against Ukraine is not a development that happened far away," he says. "Attempts to unilaterally change the status quo by force, wherever they may happen in the world, cannot be allowed."

Kishida is diplomatic when asked about China's challenge, citing the need to build on the "positive momentum" forged by his November summit with Xi. However, he admits "China's current external posture and military trends are matters of serious concern."

Others in his administration are bolder. Rather than Russia or North Korea, "the major threat is coming from China," says Kono, who previously served as both Japan's Foreign Minister and Defense Minister. "We need to be prepared for their military actions as well as economic coercion against Taiwan or others."

Washington agrees. In recent months, President Biden has committed to enhanced military cooperation with Japan, South Korea, the Philippines, and Australia. He will be pressuring Kishida to assist not only with defense matters but also to prevent technology transfer to China.

Meanwhile, Beijing has set about courting the Global South with a new forum for international relations, which the nation's state media has dubbed "Xivilization." It's a clash of worldviews that promises to keep heating up. Kishida's mission at Hiroshima will be to keep focus on the city's charred remains and paper cranes. To let the ghosts have their say. □

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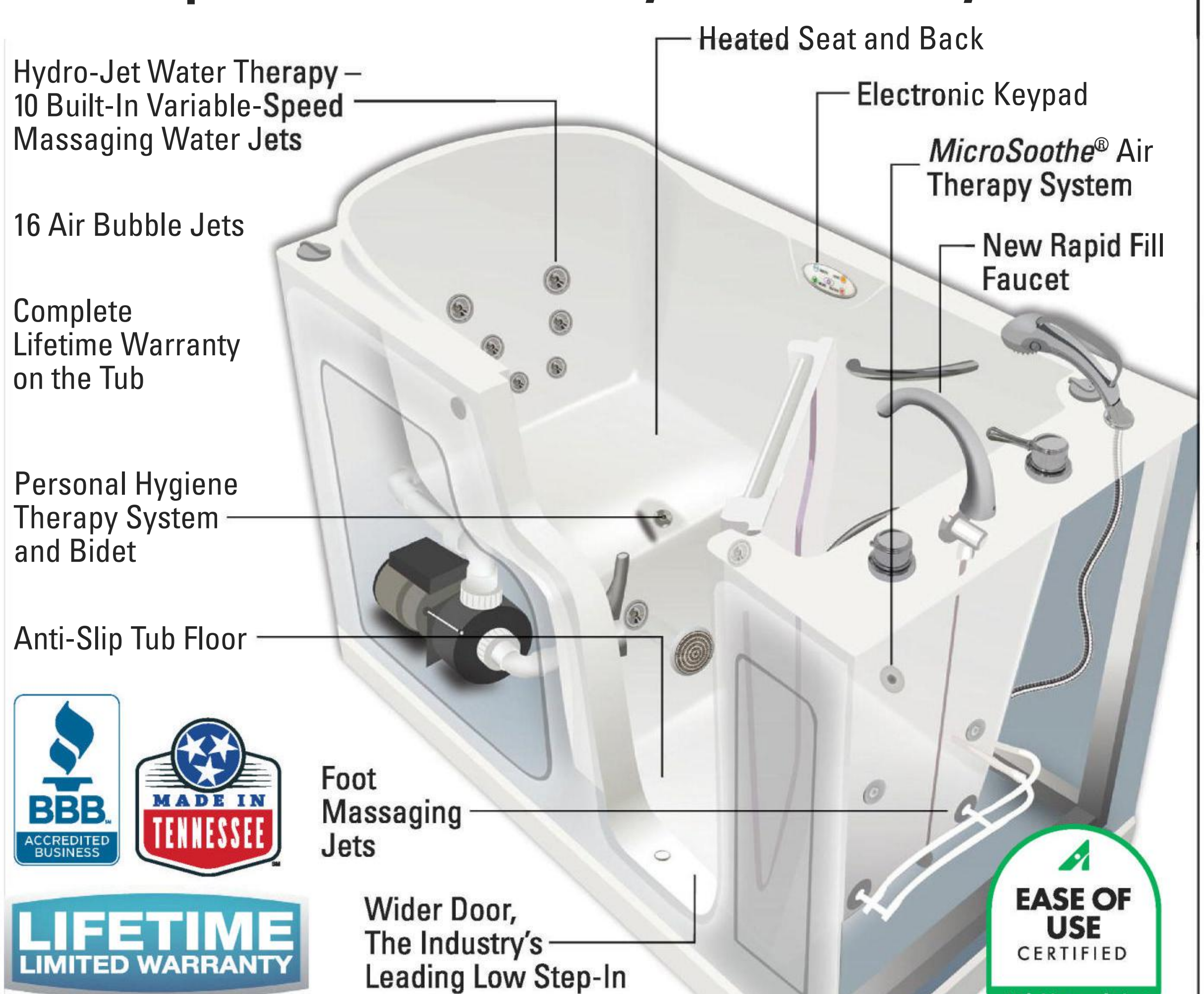
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RACHEL CARGLE'S RADICAL JOY

BY JANELL ROSS

Discovering the value of pleasure in the pursuit of a better world with the author of *A Renaissance of Our Own*



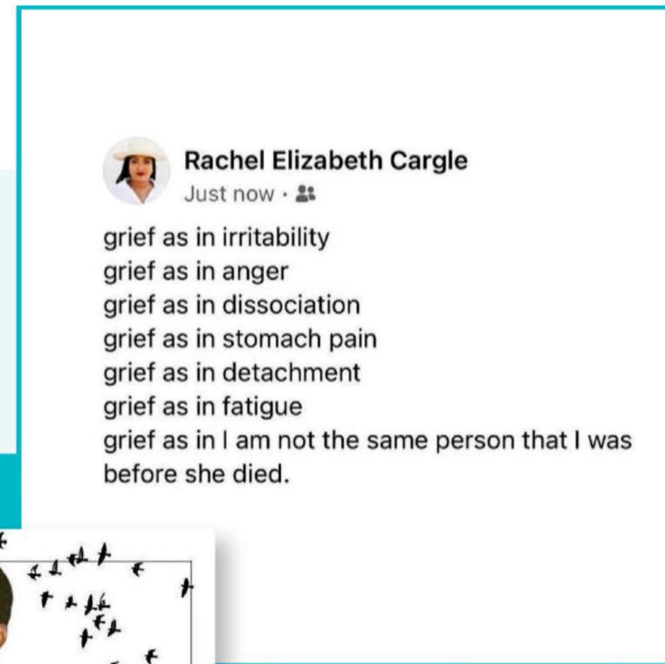
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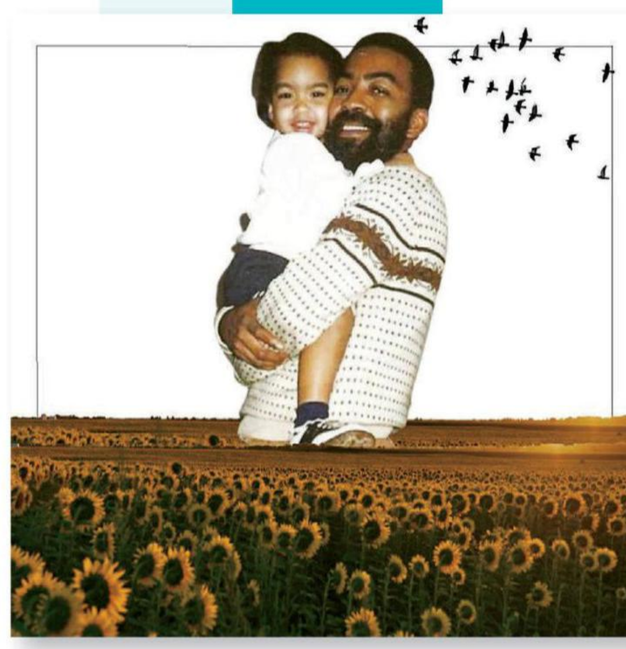
10 TV SHOWS TO WATCH THIS EMMYS SEASON

A MICHAEL J. FOX DOC CELEBRATES HIS TALENT

JENNIFER LOPEZ PLAYS A MOTHER TO END ALL MOTHERS



Cargle explores vulnerable emotions on social media





The author shares original collage art with her followers

THE MOMENT RACHEL CARGLE OPENS her Brooklyn apartment door, I see the signs of relaxed living. There is the time to greet me slowly on a Monday morning. There's the letter board displaying not an overcrowded schedule but the affirming words "This Too Is the Living." There is the sunshine streaming in from a balcony where salad greens hang from a pocket plant wall. And there's the soft, brandy-colored leather couch where we sit and talk over steaming cups of dark-roast coffee, served Jamaican style with thick condensed milk. Jamaica ranks among her happiest places.

Cargle, 34, is a Black woman leading a modern, multihyphenate life, improbably filled with "an abundance of ease"—another of her favorite phrases. Her career as an influencer, speaker, and writer began about six years ago with the Instagram account @rachel.cargle; her posts on grief, self-care, and liberation have earned her 1.6 million followers with over 1 million more following side accounts like those for her businesses: a bookstore in Akron, Ohio; an online self-paced learning platform; and a foundation bringing mental-health support to Black women and girls.

Cargle built her brand on her commitment to racial justice, but what makes her approach—and her life—particularly remarkable is her insistence that joy and pleasure are as essential as equity and justice in the making of a better world. "Racism causes our bodies to be weathered," she says. "The repair of that requires being able to sit squarely in your values: you can find more peace when you are spending your time and energy doing the things you want to do, no matter how extraneous they may seem to anyone else."

Her debut book, *A Renaissance of Our Own: A Memoir & Manifesto on Reimagining,* out May 16, is a collection of lessons and questions to prompt the reader's own life redesign. The book and the worldview it illuminates are open to all, Cargle tells me, but it was written first and foremost for Black women. Because silencing, shaming, correcting, ignoring, downplaying, degrading, overburdening, and still demanding more from Black women remains the norm.

CARGLE GREW UP the youngest in an Ohio family. Her father, a man who never provided steady financial support but showered Cargle with love, died of kidney failure when she was 11. Her mother, whom Cargle describes as industrious and creative, had been disabled by polio as a child. She was fixed on two things: religious salvation and survival. It was she who moved the family to subsidized housing in a nearly all-white, affluent area, hoping to provide Cargle and her two sisters with different opportunities.

'I want to be good whatever the weather is, and that takes a self-knowing.'

As a teen, Cargle took note of the stoicism her mother cultivated. In the new book, she describes it as a response to difficult circumstances, the impracticality of falling apart. "We're often in deep survival mode, Black women," she says. "Softness was never offered as a tool."

Cargle was a star student and, with her mother, a co-parent to her nieces, nephews, and one cousin. (An aunt spent time in jail, and she writes that her sisters became "victims of addiction" whose lives "collapsed in dysfunction and pain.") Cargle was so convinced that caretaking, crisis, and welfare dependency were her future, she did not initially plan for college. At school she plastered on a smile. At home she contemplated jobs that would accommodate parenting but not render her ineligible for affordable housing. She shudders to admit how little she understood then about how race and income can shape one's options. "Looking back on it now, I see that I was reaching for whatever good fruit I could find to pick off the blighted little tree I felt I had been assigned in life," she writes.

With a cousin's help, Cargle applied to the University of Toledo. But in 2009, before earning a degree, Cargle left school and followed the fellow student she'd married to his Ohio hometown, then into a U.S. Air Force guard unit. Outside her monthly service obligation, she eventually became a stay-at-home wife. She tried to convince herself the security that a religious, military Black man and his orderly family presented would be enough. It wasn't. After she asked for a divorce in



2012, she also untethered herself from the idea that church was the only path to goodness.

These decisions began by simply imagining what else might be possible. "Sometimes I sit on a step and I rest there a while," she says. "Sometimes I skip a few steps and sometimes I go back. You can't do that when you are on this escalator of expectations from society, religion, family."

BY THE TIME Donald Trump was inaugurated in 2017, Cargle had spent a few years living in Washington, D.C., and New York. She was dating, exploring her sexuality, and embracing polyamory. She was thinking and reading about gender and feminism. She was savoring the chance to watch *Scandal* while eating a burrito on the couch, alone. She'd bought into the ideal of the girl boss—women who seemed always in possession of "copious" glitter, Cargle writes in *A Renaissance,* and to conflate business success (or aspiring to it) with gains for all women.

As thousands converged on Washington and other cities for the Women's March, a photo emerged of Cargle and her friend Dana Suchow, who is white, each raising a fist in protest. People online compared the picture to the iconic 1971 image of white feminist Gloria Steinem and Black childcare activist Dorothy Pitman Hughes. Then, it reached an Instagram account with mostly Black followers. The response was quite different. How, many commenters wondered, could Cargle find communion in that crowd of overwhelmingly white women, when nearly half of white women—47%—had voted for Trump?



Cargle's book examines the inflection points in her life

COURTESY OF RACHEL CARGLE

Her answer: she still isn't sure. She hadn't learned much in school about Ida B. Wells, Mary Church Terrell, or other Black women activists—people also hardly mentioned in the feminist texts she'd read as an adult. Only now was she learning white feminism had a track record of sidelining everyone else. So she educated herself, taking her evolving thoughts to social media. Her honesty about her need to learn and her obligation to bring accountability to her feminist work boosted her profile. Her following grew exponentially, also becoming far more diverse. Her social media work led to speaking engagements and helped birth the Loveland Foundation.

The foundation began with an idea Cargle had in 2018 while briefly continuing college at Columbia University. There, she had access to affordable individual therapy for the first time. It helped her heal, and she wanted to improve access for others. To celebrate her birthday in 2018, she launched a GoFundMe and within months raised over $250,000.

Now an official nonprofit, Loveland offers training to therapists of color as well as free mental-health care—it provided 6,202 Black women and girls with 74,424 hours of free therapy last year. Cargle hopes in the future to offer financial support to therapists and to create policy changes to boost diversity in the field. In 2021, just 19% of the nation's psychology workforce were people of color and 5% of these were Black, per the American Psychological Association.

THE SUNDAY BEFORE I visited Cargle's home, she and Sharlene Kemler, the CEO of the Loveland Foundation, hosted a brunch at a downtown Manhattan restaurant. There, they shared their own experiences with healing with a table of about 20 influencer guests. Kemler's story—her family staged an intervention because she started therapy after her father's death—set off knowing laughter and similar testimonials about family distrust for mental-health care.

Cargle has a way of bringing whimsy to the most serious of purposes. On this rainy Sunday, she spoke of revolution while dressed in a sequined caftan. She strives to stay her easeful self at all times. "I don't want to feel continuously at the mercy of the weather," she says. She's speaking metaphorically: the weather of politics, of people's perceptions. "I want to be good whatever the weather is, and that takes a self-knowing," she says. "That can't be handed to you from anywhere—not from your parents, not from your religion, not from your job. Joy lives inside you." —*With reporting by* MARIAH ESPADA ◻

Spring ahead: the bounty of TV's new awards season

BY JUDY BERMAN

THE ANNUAL TV CALENDAR LOOKS quite different from what preceded it in the 20th century—and even the rhythms it was settling into a few years ago. Spring used to be the season of finales, as shows wrapped for summer hiatus. Now, as you might've noticed, the weeks between Easter and Memorial Day are packed with new releases. And these aren't just any debuts. They're some of the splashiest (Paramount+'s *Fatal Attraction* reboot) and most expensive (Amazon spy thriller *Citadel*) projects of the year. Marquee stars are everywhere, from Keri Russell as a green ambassador in Netflix's *The Diplomat* to Woody Harrelson in HBO's Watergate romp *White House Plumbers*.

This glut is due, in large part, to a streaming landscape where Netflix, Hulu, and Amazon are no longer the only major players. Not only is there more TV in general; there are also more platforms competing for subscription dollars, and winning awards is one way to convince potential customers that your original content is worth the price. Since the Emmy deadline is May 31, spring has become television's own version of Oscar season—except more daunting because each title spans multiple episodes. To help you prioritize that queue, here are 10 of Emmy season's best new and upcoming shows.

A Small Light

Miep Gies did not realize, when she started working as a secretary for Anne Frank's father Otto, that she was destined for greatness. Nearly a decade later, when the Nazis marched into Amsterdam, she helped his family hide for more than two years in a secret annex. After the Franks were discovered and deported to concentration camps, she saved Anne's diary. *A Small Light* tells Gies' story—a bracing, emotional, but not excessively sentimental account of a regular woman's resistance to fascism, anchored by an exquisite lead performance from Bel Powley *(below)*. A hero, but before that a human, Powley's Miep is an ideal embodiment of the cause for which her antifascist cohort is fighting. **(Nat Geo)**





American Born Chinese

This adaptation of Gene Luen Yang's graphic novel fuses realism and fantasy. Everykid Jin Wang (Ben Wang, *above*) is starting to ingratiate himself with the jocks at his high school when he's saddled with guiding a foreign exchange student, Wei-Chen (Jim Liu)—because they're both Chinese. Little does he know that his new pal is actually the son of a god from Chinese mythology. A mix of action epic and teen comedy, *American Born Chinese* is also an allegory for Jin's ambivalence toward his heritage. Adults will want to watch for a stacked cast that includes *Everything Everywhere All at Once* Oscar winners Ke Huy Quan and Michelle Yeoh. (Disney+)

Bupkis

Messy and erratic but also insightful and often funny, this dramedy lightly fictionalizes the tabloid-magnet life of its co-creator and star, *SNL* alum Pete Davidson *(below left)*. *Bupkis* is a family dramedy more than a showbiz sitcom. Most episodes take place in Pete's borough of Staten Island, where he lives in the basement of a house occupied by his doting mother (Edie Falco) and absorbs wisdom from his no-nonsense grandfather (Joe Pesci, *below right*), who has terminal cancer. In balancing thoughtful engagement with his own struggles, from drug abuse to mental illness, and moments of goofy fun—including an extended tribute to the *Fast & Furious* franchise—Davidson proves to be an incisive narrator of his own story. **(Peacock)**





Dead Ringers

A reboot of David Cronenberg's twisted 1988 psychological thriller could've been terrible. Yet somehow it feels even more subversive than the original, a psychosexual horror odyssey about identical-twin gynecologists—both played by Jeremy Irons—and the woman who threatens to tear them apart. Mastermind Alice Birch *(Succession, Lady Macbeth)* recasts the doctors as women, but this is no glib gender flip. It's an inspired choice, with Birch casting the versatile Rachel Weisz *(above)* and submerging the story in the bloody realities of women's bodies, appetites, and ambitions in a way that couldn't be done with men. **(Prime Video)**



Dear Mama

More than 26 years have passed since Tupac Shakur *(above)* was murdered at age 25. One of the most brilliant rappers of all time, he also remains something of an enigma. Is it possible to reconcile the disparate facets of his legacy—the visionary poet, the righteous activist, the gentle lover, the self-proclaimed thug, the man who served time for sexual assault, the martyr? Allen Hughes *(The Defiant Ones)* makes a compelling attempt in this five-part documentary that braids together Tupac's biography and that of his fraught relationship with his equally complicated mother, Black Panther Party leader Afeni Shakur. (FX)



Mrs. Davis

Like Damon Lindelof's past hits, from *Lost* to *The Leftovers* to *Watchmen,* this wild sci-fi drama that Lindelof co-created with Tara Hernandez is concerned with the ways in which faith and morality persist in a world that has replaced religion with other forms of belief. In this case, that timely substitute is an AI nicknamed Mrs. Davis that functions like an all-powerful Siri, whispering gently into the earbuds of users around the globe. Played with sparkling intelligence by Betty Gilpin *(above),* the show's heroine, Sister Simone, is a mouthy Nevada nun who believes the AI killed her dad. When Mrs. Davis offers her one wish if she can procure the Holy Grail, Simone seizes the quest to try to shut down the algorithm forever. (Peacock)

Queen Charlotte

Shonda Rhimes personally created this spin-off of her wildly popular show *Bridgerton,* and it shows in an addictive season that balances Regency romance with palace intrigue à la *Scandal*. Inspired by a British queen who may have had African ancestry, the flamboyant, middle-aged Charlotte (Golda Rosheuvel) is a beloved *Bridgerton* character. While Rosheuvel appears in a parallel timeline, *Queen Charlotte* is mostly an origin story—and India Amarteifio *(below)* is sure to break out as the headstrong teen who weds King George III (Corey Mylchreest). Their chemistry is off the charts, yet George remains distant from his bride. Students of history won't be shocked to learn his secret, but the mystery still makes for a compelling plot driver. **(Netflix)**



Yeoh works magic, Obama goes to work





Silo

Sci-fi fans might have a new favorite show in this thoughtful adaptation of the books by Hugh Howey. In a silo-shaped underground city that houses the last 10,000 people on earth, it's taken as an article of faith that the outside world is toxic to humans. That assumption comes into question when the wife (Rashida Jones, *above*) of the sheriff (David Oyelowo) finds evidence that suggests powerful forces within the silo are hiding something major. At once a portrait of a dystopian society and a mystery investigated by a fascinating detective (Rebecca Ferguson), *Silo* is smart sci-fi grounded in skillful world building and solid character development. (Apple TV+)



Slip

Zoe Lister-Jones *(Band Aid)* wrote, directed, executive produced, and stars in this delightful lo-fi multiverse show about a 30-something in a stagnant marriage. Fresh off a fight with her husband, Lister-Jones' Mae *(above)* sleeps with a famous musician and wakes up in a parallel universe where she's married to him instead. A subsequent string of hookups offers glimpses into other lives she could be living; in one, she's a queer mom wed to Emily Hampshire from *Schitt's Creek. Russian Doll* and *Search Party* are more ambitious, audacious shows, but *Slip* slots in comfortably among them as a lighter example of the same New York City surrealist sensibility. **(Roku Channel)**



Davidson in Bupkis*: a funny guy, but not a joke*



Working: What We Do All Day

Inspired by Studs Terkel's classic oral history *Working,* executive producer and narrator Barack Obama *(above)* documents what regular people from all levels of the American labor force do at work. Each of this docuseries' four episodes profiles a trio of workers, moving up the hierarchy from service employees to the white collar middle class to highly paid knowledge workers and finally the executives who control the conditions of everyone below them. Attuned to technological and generational changes in the workforce—and sensitive to how misleading terms like *low-skill* labor can be—the series makes a quiet statement by taking viewers out of their own class-based bubbles. (Netflix)

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A SMALL LIGHT: NATIONAL GEOGRAPHIC FOR DISNEY; AMERICAN BORN CHINESE: DISNEY; BUPKIS: PEACOCK; DEAD RINGERS: AMAZON STUDIOS; DEAR MAMA: FX; MRS. DAVIS: PEACOCK; QUEEN CHARLOTTE: NETFLIX; SILO: APPLE TV+; SLIP: ROKU; WORKING: WHAT WE DO ALL DAY: NETFLIX

MOVIES

A documentary not about illness, but about life

BY STEPHANIE ZACHAREK

IF IT WERE UP TO US TO CHOOSE THE FATES OF THE performers we care about, millions of people would want to wish Michael J. Fox's Parkinson's away. Few actors of the 1980s and '90s gave us as much pleasure: On TV's *Family Ties,* his characterization of teenage conservative Alex P. Keaton was so artful that even die-hard liberals could get a kick out of it. In 1985, as the charmingly incredulous Marty McFly, he traveled back in time to make a match between his own parents. And in the sharp '90s-era sitcom *Spin City,* he played peripatetic New York City deputy mayor Mike Flaherty, doing his best to avert municipal crises despite his bumbling staff. Fox's nervous energy was a kind of radiance, an animating force that audiences warmed to. After he was diagnosed with Parkinson's disease in 1991, at age 29, he hid his condition for as long as he could. When he finally revealed his illness to the world, it seemed cosmically unfair that such a likable performer, so gifted at physical comedy in particular, should have to suffer this way.

There's no way to put a positive spin on Parkinson's. But how we handle the cards we're dealt is everything, and Davis Guggenheim's remarkable documentary *Still: A Michael J. Fox Movie* reminds us that a person stricken with a disease doesn't *become* that disease. Fox's condition continues to deteriorate as he ages (he's now 61). Though the boy he used to be is still right there in the impish planes of his face, his limitations have increased; he's frequently injured as the result of unavoidable falls. But he's still Michael J. Fox, and Guggenheim, an astute interviewer, paints a picture of where he's at today that's unsparing but also terrifically—if also somewhat darkly—funny. When Guggenheim asks Fox where he thinks he'll be in 20 years, his brow furrows, and it takes a few seconds for the answer to travel from brain to mouth. "I'll either be dead or ... a pickle," he says, the kind of spontaneous, out-there joke you have to be Michael J. Fox to make.

One of Fox's greatest gifts is that he can laugh at himself



Fox in Still: *a wonderful actor, period*

WHAT'S STRIKING about *Still* is how celebratory it is. This isn't the story of a wonderful actor felled by an illness; it's the story of a wonderful actor, period, beginning nearly at the beginning (with a re-enactment of an incident in which toddler Michael, growing up in Canada, runs off to the local candy store on his own) and moving briskly through Fox's career, which ambled along for several years before taking off like a rocket. "I was the boy prince of Hollywood," he says, recalling the multiple sports cars he was able to buy once he hit it big. A vintage TV clip shows Shelley Winters asking him point-blank who he's sleeping with. Before marrying fellow actor Tracy Pollan, in 1988, he most certainly had his pick.

Guggenheim and his editor Michael Harte make artful use of clips from Fox's films to illustrate the events of his life. A sequence in which Fox describes a particularly grueling three months, during which he worked on *Family Ties* by day and spent most of the night filming *Back to the Future,* is almost alarmingly effective—just watching it makes you feel pooped.

But the most extraordinary scenes in *Still* are the ones showing Fox with Pollan and their grown children, sitting around the kitchen and making one another laugh—sometimes not in spite of Fox's limitations, but because of them. One of his greatest gifts is that he can laugh at himself, maybe more so now than ever. At one point in the documentary, Guggenheim realizes he hasn't asked Fox if he's in pain. "I'm in intense pain," Fox answers. When Guggenheim asks why he hasn't mentioned it at any point during filming, Fox says plainly, "It didn't come up"—a line so funny it hurts. ◻



Mamma mia! J. Lo in action

MOVIES

TOUGH LOVE, GLAMMED UP

Not since *Stella Dallas* has a mother made so many selfless sacrifices for her daughter. Not since *Taken* has a protective parent fended off so many rotten baddies. Mush those two genres together—the classic women's picture and the pulpy, rage-driven action adventure—and you get *The Mother,* in which J Lo plays the mother to end all mothers, a skilled assassin who slinks out of retirement to protect the daughter (Lucy Paez) she was forced to give up 12 years ago.

If that sounds like fun, it is, but almost in spite of itself. Director Niki Caro *(Whale Rider, Mulan)* approaches the material reverently, as a parable about the strength of women. Lopez's the Mother—her character, a womb with balls, has no name—thinks nothing of wasting the sexy bad guys (they're played by Gael García Bernal and Joseph Fiennes) who threaten her tiny nuclear family. In one of the movie's most compelling scenes, she lectures her daughter on the damage tofu has wrought upon the world. This is some pretty tough love.

But how can we not laugh—with joy, not derision—when we see our favorite mom hunting stag in Alaska, for survival purposes only, while wearing the lushest fur-trimmed hood this side of Fendi? Whatever Lopez does, she does it glamorously. *The Mother* needs to be watched with the largest group of J. Lo fans you can assemble, ideally people who know artfully applied highlighter when they see it in the wild. —*S.Z.*



Edgerton plays a Master Gardener *with a checkered past, employed by Weaver's dowager*

MOVIES

A romantic thriller in which festering secrets give way to love

BY DESIGN, WRITER-DIRECTOR PAUL Schrader's three most recent films—*First Reformed* (2017), *The Card Counter* (2021), and now *Master Gardener*—constitute a loose trilogy entwined around the idea of male guilt. In all three cases, troubled men are at least partly redeemed by love. You can call that device corny. But perhaps that's only because, in a landscape of fantasy franchises and action retreads, we've forgotten the deep pleasures of the romantic thriller, movies in which darkness and light reach toward each other with a fateful kiss.

Can human beings really change? In this movie, they can

Schrader's long career is dotted with these thrillers, and he's still among the best at making them. In *Master Gardener,* Joel Edgerton plays Narvel Roth, a somber horticulturist with a past rooted in racist hatred. He's in charge of the lavish historic garden of rich uppity white lady Norma Haverhill (Sigourney Weaver), who one day informs him that he must give her headed-for-trouble grandniece, Maya (Quintessa Swindell), a job. She also informs Narvel, in icy-crisp grande-dame tones, that Maya is of "mixed blood."

Edgerton's Narvel has the meaty face of a scrapper who's lost a few fights but won many more; yet this is also a guy who can pick up a clod of moist earth and divine its essence by scent alone. Maya is drawn to him at the risk of letting her own guard down, and Swindell, as simultaneously inquisitive and all-knowing as a butterfly, plays that tension beautifully. If you've seen *First Reformed* and *The Card Counter,* you may wonder how Schrader can find anything more to say about this particular kind of masculine anguish, this feeling of culpability for either personal sins or more global ones. But there's a fantasy element to *Master Gardener* that bolsters the movie's convictions rather than weakening them. Can human beings really change? In *Master Gardener* they can, like a dying plant that one day turns to face the sunlight, suddenly knowing all that it's been missing. —S.Z.

STILL: APPLE TV+; THE MOTHER: NETFLIX; MASTER GARDENER: COURTESY MAGNOLIA PICTURES

Stacey Abrams The two-time gubernatorial candidate on data leaks, electoral shenanigans, writing suspense novels, and her future in politics

People who only know your political career may not know that you've written four best sellers, some of them legal thrillers and romantic suspense novels. You have so much to do. Why write? I wrote my first attempt at a novel when I was 12. It was called *The Diary of Angst*. I was a very, very obnoxious 12-year-old who was just assailed by all the travails of the world. Novels have always been a part of how I think about writing. During law school, I wrote two things that got published: my first romantic suspense novel and an essay on the operational dissonance of the unrelated business income tax exemption.

Do you find novels a useful way to critique politics? For me, it's a way to tackle complicated conversations, to address questions that intrigue me or pique me. You don't enter [my new book] *Rogue Justice* necessarily knowing you wanted to know about the power grid or the FISA court, but I hope when you're done, you have answers, and new questions.

The plot involves a massive leak of data. Do you see similarities with the recent leak of military secrets on Discord? I do. I think we have entered an age when the aggregation of information, the speed with which technology allows us to access it, and the sheer volume we can amass makes us vulnerable. I think we have to stop being surprised by leaks. Instead, we have to anticipate that they're going to happen. Part of what I'm investigating in this book is where there are vulnerabilities.

Has your increased understanding of cybercrime given you sympathy for people who don't trust computerized ballot counting? Of course. We have to recognize that trust is earned, not given. Part of my responsibility on the civic side is to work hard to make certain that we can and do trust our systems. The Dominion lawsuit mattered because it was not simply a question of defaming a company; it was also attacking a process that is embedded in how we have elections. Our fundamental responsibility is not only ensuring access, but validating the trust that people place in our democracy.

Do you worry that writing thrillers will make people take you less seriously?

Politics is about meeting people where they are and setting a vision for where you can go. I love storytelling. And I think there's very little in our society that levels the playing field more than a good novel does. It's just a different part of how we have conversations and how we investigate our world.



Are you satisfied with how much change you've been able to bring to Georgia's electoral system? I think we've made improvements. Unfortunately, even this year, we saw the state continue to make it more difficult for people to participate. My worry is that we think that because there's no massive disaster, that that means there is no fault.

Do you find people who are fans of your work politically buy the book? Absolutely. Although I saw [online] comments from people who read the book and then they realized, Wait, this is the politician Stacey Abrams? My fiction was always under a pseudonym, not because I was hiding, it was just no one was going to read romance by Alan Greenspan. I was publishing tax policy and treatises on legal issues.

Will you run for governor again? I will always be involved in politics and I may run again, but that's not my focus right now. I do not see a separation between being a writer and being in politics and running a business. They're all of a piece, a very complicated piece, but that's why God created novels, so you can tell multiple stories at once.

You put novels on God? Was that on the eighth day? My mother was a librarian. So clearly, there was a lot of intentionality there.

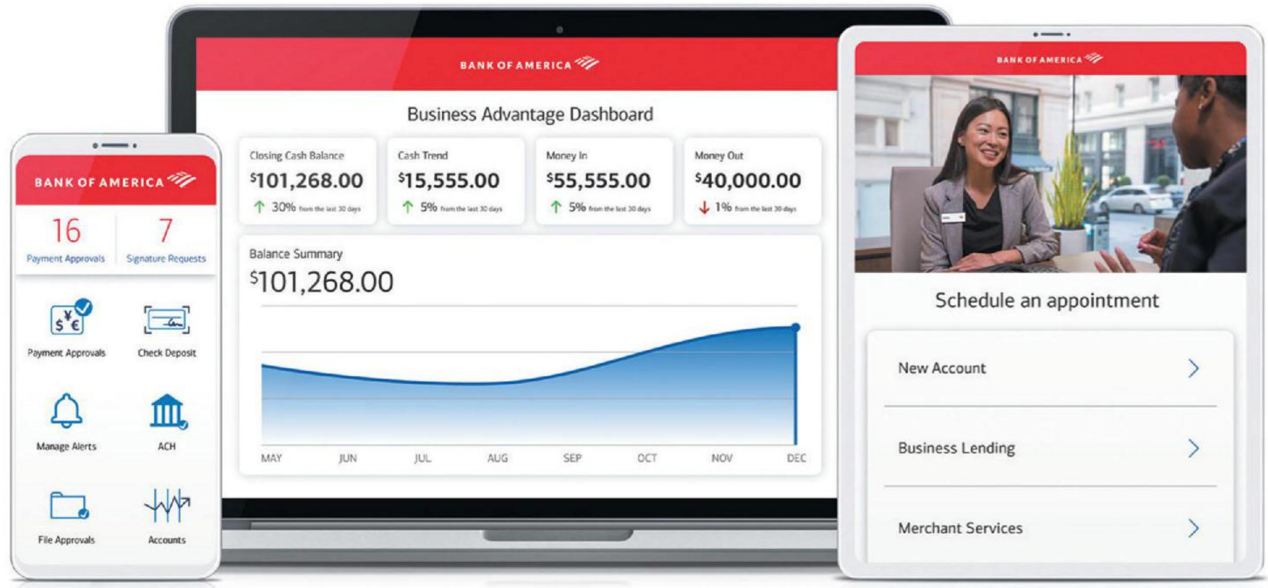
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